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SPEECH BY MAURICE THOREZ

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PARTY LIFE IN
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

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THREE ARCH-ABSURDITIES
OF CHINESE LEADERS

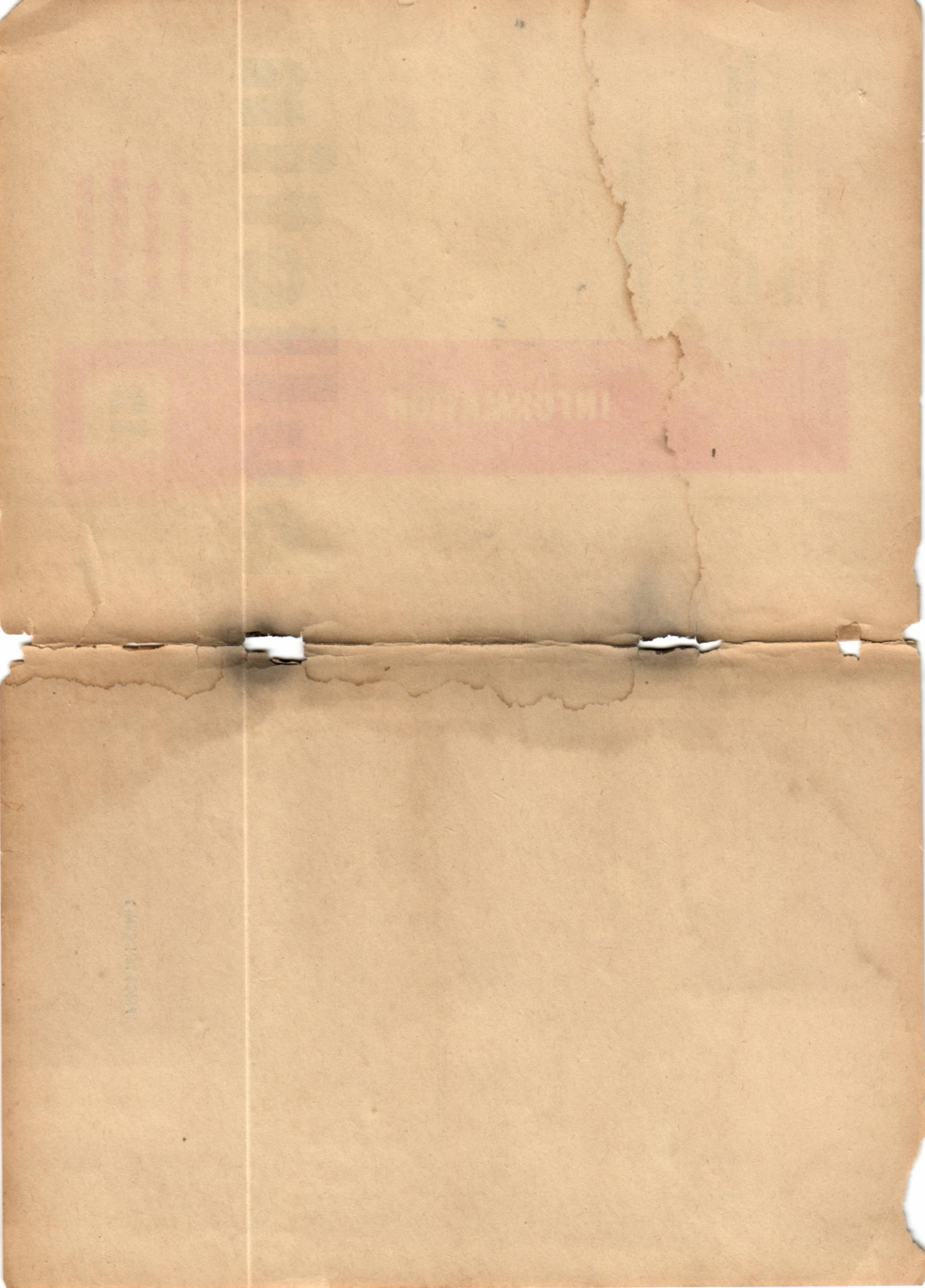
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like the CPC leaders, are trying to implant in the Communist parties an ideology alien to Marxism-Leninism.

That is why it is now more necessary than ever to defend Marxism-Leninism in the name of the unity and consolidation of the world Communist and working-class movement.

5. Although, as repeatedly stated by the CPSU and other fraternal parties, our Party included, the CPC leaders have gone far in their anti-Leninist and splitting activities, we reaffirm our readiness to support any proposal designed to bring the discussion back to the standards established at the 1960 Meeting, and conforming with the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism, provided it is honestly accepted by the Chinese leaders.

We Communists of Argentina, like the Communists of all countries, hope that the CPC leaders will realize what colossal harm they are doing to their people and to all the peoples with their disruptive policy aimed at weakening the socialist camp and the international Communist and working-class movement at a time when their unity is necessary more than ever for the struggle against the imperialist camp headed by the United States. Enraged by the consolidation and development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, by the growing successes of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and by the advances of the democratic and progressive forces in all countries, the world peace movement especially, which are undermining their positions, the most reactionary and warlike imperialists are intensifying their aggressive actions, such as the hostilities in South Vietnam. They advance the Johnson-Mann "new doctrine", a doctrine of undisguised and outright support of reactionary and fascist coups, such as the recent coup in Brazil.

6. In view of the above, our Party considers that a conference of Communist and Workers' parties must be convened to examine the present situation in the world Communist and working-class movement and to discuss the common line with due regard for the changes in the international situation, on the basis of the main principles enunciated in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. **Buenos Aires, April 18, 1964.**

UNITY—FOR DEMOCRACY, FOR SOCIALISM

SPEECH* BY MAURICE THOREZ AT THE 17th CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

Comrades, our 17th Party Congress is coming to an end. The debate on the Central Committee report delivered by Waldeck Rochet, our General Secretary, and on the new Party Rules was of a high political standard and culminated in unanimous approval. The draft resolution was also unanimously approved.

The scope and content of the debate, the good knowledge shown of the issues on hand, prove that it was not just a formal approval, but a genuine identity of opinion, deriving from a serious and thorough study of these issues when preparing for the Congress at thousands of branch meetings and hundreds of sectional and federation conferences.

Friends and enemies alike had an opportunity to learn from these four days of free and extensive discussion that our Party is solidly united.

The whole Party, as represented by its delegates, voted unanimously for the documents defining our policy. The whole Party approved the composition of its governing bodies.

This reveals the deep-going cohesion of our ranks. So, in this respect we can proudly say that our 17th Congress has been a striking manifestation of unity.

The idea of unity was also advanced by the Congress in a broader context.

The Congress has issued a strong call for working-class unity, for the unity of the democratic forces, for the unity of the social strata victimized by the policy of the monopolies, a call to combat the regime of personal power and establish a genuine democracy.

Ever since 1958, in spite of the painful defeat suffered by the working class and democracy, we have stood firm. At once, we made the right appraisal of gaullist power, and it did not take long for the course of events to confirm it. We showed that both domestically and externally the contradictions would come to a head and the camp that had voted "yes" would fall apart.

We expressed our unshakeable faith in the masses, and predicted that struggles would be sure to arise in all spheres—the economic, political and social. We demonstrated the necessity of organizing these struggles and of preparing their convergence for a general battle against the authoritarian system.

Soon after the 1958 referendum we declared our confidence that all working people, and above all the socialists, would join hands with us in this battle.

*Supplement au No. 5 du *Bulletin de Propagande et d'Information*, May-June, 1964.

It was in this spirit that we worked at our Congress for four days. We occupied ourselves with the condition and future of the working class and of all the other working people, and discussed what the best conditions would be for the struggle to end a political system that embodies the increased domination of finance-capital and fighters with all its powers the super-exploitation of the masses. What would these best conditions be? They may be summed up in one word: unity.

Unity is essential in the daily struggles of the working people. It is essential between the trade union organizations. It must be achieved between the Communist and the Socialist parties. Our resolution emphasizes that it is highly important to develop joint action by the two parties and that this joint action should be more fruitful than in the best days of 1934 and 1945.

Before parting, the delegates at this Congress will reaffirm their pledge to fight tirelessly to achieve accord with the Socialist Party despite the existing differences. If the Socialists and Communists wage the daily struggle together and keep developing their common activities, they will be better able to overcome the difficulties and reach agreement on the more essential questions.

In this connection, we consider the following statement by Guy Mollet extremely important. "Does not a certain form of economic democracy," he said, "lead to new forms of political democracy? Are not some of the aspects of what we call political democracy quite useless ones?"

If the militant Socialists give this problem due thought, as the General Secretary of their Party urges them to do, we shall succeed in putting one of the main differences between us out of the way. The question of democracy will then stand on a Marxist foundation, a class foundation, rather than abstractly, on a liberal foundation.

In other words, formal democracy is no longer being opposed to the economic and political gains of socialism.

Comrades, if we are conscious that the strength of gaullism derives chiefly from division in the ranks of workers and democrats, then, obviously, unity is the cardinal task to which all others must concede precedence. If we know that a united working class can and must be the pole of attraction for the realignment of all the other sections of society that cherish progress, democracy and peace, should we not place working-class unity above all else?

This is why we hear the call for alliance between the Communist and Socialist parties at the factories and offices, in the countryside and at the universities. We shall spare no effort to translate this great hope into reality, and our energy will redouble from the knowledge that unity is gaining strength.

It is a few weeks since a very thorough common educational policy has been worked out and adopted at a conference of all the democratic parties and organizations. There is no reason why we should not achieve for the whole program what we have so successfully achieved for one of its parts. If the democrats have reached agreement on questions that have long been controversial, such as the

Committee to the CPSU Central Committee, in which the common line worked out at the 1957 and 1960 meetings is openly countered with their own, dogmatic and sectarian line. In these circumstances, the CC of our Party, again condemned the stand of the CPC leaders at a meeting on July 23, 1963, and voiced full support of the CPSU reply contained in the "Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee to All Party Organizations and All Communists of the Soviet Union."

In view of the fact that the CPC leaders did not discontinue their open polemics, conducted in a language impermissible in relations between fraternal parties, and in view of their splitting activities in these parties and in mass international movements, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina decided to publish Comrade Codovilla's report "The Marxist-Leninist Position with Regard to the Trotskyite Dogmatists from the Communist Party of China", which he delivered in September 1963 and in which he analyzed in detail and denounced the Chinese leaders' anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist position.

3. Of late the CPC leadership has gone over from ideological discussion to slanderous attacks on the policy of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, and to undisguised splitting activities, in order to organize the basis for a parallel movement devoid of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Although the harm they do to the international Communist movement is obvious, there is every indication that they will fail to attain their disruptive ends. The most they have achieved is to win over some vacillating elements, especially those with a petty-bourgeois background, bringing them together with a few counter-revolutionaries expelled from Communist parties for anti-Party activities and with representatives of the bourgeois-nationalist intelligentsia and Trotskyites.

Although the Chinese splitters have so far failed to do damage to our Party and won support only among some elements expelled by us for anti-Party activities, we must be vigilant because they are stepping up their disruptive work, and so prevent them from harming us. At the same time, our Party considers that in the international arena the struggle against this dangerous dogmatic and nationalist deviation of the Trotsky type must be continued. Nothing but open struggle against it from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism staunchly upheld by the CPSU and the other parties of the Communist movement, will enable us to rout the splitters and consolidate our unity so as to go forward to new and bigger victories on the international scale and in every country, dashing the imperialists' hopes of weakening our parties.

4. Ideological struggle against dogmatism, as well as against revisionism, which both stem from the influence of bourgeois nationalism on the proletariat, is one of the forms of class struggle. The issue is which of the two lines to choose: the proletarian line collectively worked out at the 1957 and 1960 meetings and based on creative Marxism-Leninism, or the adventurist line of those who,

ON THE SPLITTING ACTIVITIES OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

Having examined Comrade Suslov's report to the February (1964) Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPSU and the decision adopted by this Plenary Meeting, and having discussed the situation that has arisen in the world Communist movement as a result of the incessant hostile attacks of the leaders of the Communist Party of China on its general line and unity, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina rejects these attacks in both form and substance and supports the Marxist-Leninist stand of the CPSU, the stand of consistent unity.

1. Ever since the CPC leaders launched their attacks on the basic propositions of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the CPSU, the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, seeking to supplant them with their own anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theses, our Party has adhered to a clear-cut, unambiguous position.

In face of the dogmatic and disruptive activities of the CPC leaders, our Party has always supported the policy of the CC, CPSU headed by Comrade Khrushchov, who, while vigorously defending creative Marxism-Leninism, displayed reserve and patience, striving to avoid a split in the world Communist movement. The 12th Congress of our Party, held in February 1963, denounced the political views and splitting activities of the CPC leaders and supported Comrade Khrushchov's proposal, made at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, to discontinue all open polemics in order to create a more favourable atmosphere for discussion, in keeping with the standards established by the 1960 Statement. Our Party has abided by the decision of its congress.

2. As subsequent events have shown, the CPC leaders never intended to discuss their objections fraternally, so as to remove them. On the contrary, they are doing everything to exacerbate them. That was why they replied to the repeated CPSU proposals to hold a conference and iron out the differences, with dilatory tactics in order to gain time and try to set up factions in the Communist parties, and to establish parallel organizations in the Communist parties, the object of splitting the world Communist movement.

This is borne out by the June 14, 1963, letter of the CPC Central

Nuestra Palabra, April 21, 1964.

nationalization of education, should this not encourage them to tackle the political, economic, social and other sections of a common program?

Unity is developing, too, in order to protect and extend municipal freedoms. Elected republican office-holders come together, reach agreement and fight jointly against authoritarian concentration of power and paralyzing tutelage, which tend to impede measures profiting the people.

We fight hand in hand—Socialists, Communists and all republicans—to support the people of Spain against Franco terrorism.

We stand together against violence.

In all these actions there is the underlying idea and embryo of a common platform, a common program. The draft of a program was advanced by us as far back as 1959 with the object of providing a concrete foundation for an alliance of the working class, the working peasantry, the middle classes and all the victims of the monopolies. We can put on record at this point that the programs of the different democratic parties already contain many common elements. So could we not on these grounds produce a conception that would facilitate general agreement?

If we want to inspire among the democratic forces the confidence and enthusiasm indispensable for victory, it is essential that we work together to frame a common program. On the other hand, the absence of such a program enables the government to capitalize on fears of a "return to the past" and to allege that the workers and republicans are incapable of agreement in the name of a positive and new cause.

Let us also note that French political affairs must not be made dependent for two years on the personal conduct of the candidates to the presidency. In your resolution you have expressed your determination "to oppose the candidate of personal power with a jointly nominated candidate who can effectively represent the mass movement and the alliance of all the democratic parties and organizations without exception, in order to establish a new democracy."

To achieve a real change, it is necessary more than ever to have a mass movement of unprecedented proportions, which, in turn, calls for agreement and unity.

We see this unity taking shape most impressively in the battles for the working people's various demands, in the strikes, and in other forms of struggle for higher wages and salaries, for a 40-hour working week without reduction in pay, for the various economic interests of the masses, for non-violation of the right to strike, and in defense of trade-union freedoms.

Unity is being wrought in the struggles of the working peasantry for a revision of the prices of farm products, which the government has rejected, and against the measures of mass expropriation, to which the government resorts in the interests of agrarian capitalism. Special acclaim is due to the big joint demonstrations of workers and peasants held in some of the areas.

Unity is evident in the struggle against reactionary incursions on

public education, in the actions to protect secular schools, for a democratic educational reform under the Langevin-Wallon plan and in defense of the young people's rights to culture, to a trade or profession and proper leisure time.

Unity is also gaining strength in the battles to safeguard local freedoms from the assault of personal power, to check the reactionary administrative reforms and to reaffirm the right of the people to impartial democratic information.

We see unity making distinct progress in the struggle for peace. Socialists, Communists, radicals and all other republicans, churchgoers and atheists, jointly denounce de Gaulle's refusal to participate in the disarmament negotiations. The government's opposition to the Moscow nuclear test-ban treaty, (since the building up of a strike force (*force de frappe*)—so ruinous to the country's finances), is likely to create the frightening condition in which France risks total destruction. All of them act jointly, they find themselves shoulder to shoulder in the big demonstrations protesting against atomic arming, such as that in Parc de Sceaux. The policy of relieving international tension, of general and controlled disarmament, and of peaceful coexistence, is welcomed unanimously by all democrats.

We leave this Congress, which has proceeded under the motto of unity, with the conviction that we can and must overcome the resistance still obstructing joint actions.

Today, the time is ripe to respond to the mounting aspiration of the masses to socialism. We must act on the demands of our time, the time of transition from capitalism to socialism. At this time, when all roads lead to this great transition, we Communists and Socialists must not fail to find the means of achieving mutual understanding.

It is by building a united front of parties representing the working class and by effecting the alliance of all republicans that we shall in the near future generate a movement strong enough to abolish personal power and establish a true democracy.

Comrades, our Congress has given the vast majority of Communist and Workers' parties an opportunity to reaffirm their firm adherence to the principle of the unity of our international movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This was strikingly indicated in the speeches made by our guests from this rostrum and in the messages we received at the Congress from fraternal parties.

We extend our fondest greetings to the delegates of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is leading the people of its land to the inspiring goal of Communist construction showing the superiority of socialism over capitalism to working people the world over, and opening the most radiant prospects for all mankind.

Lenin's great Party and the Soviet people are showing every nation the road to a happy future. The Soviet Union remains the beacon for all working people, for all progressives. It stands in the van in science and technology. It is opening an entirely new field for the flowering of democracy in its state of the whole people. It embodies the social ideal which has for centuries been the dream of the oppressed. Acting in behalf of the Soviet people, Comrade Khrushchev

STILL NOT TOO LATE

The Communist Party of India is facing the gravest crisis in its history—a crisis which is the reflection of the international conspiracy of disruption and direct creation of a group of hardened dogmatic, Left-sectarian and adventurist leaders within our Party.

History will never forgive them for their crime of splitting the Party which tens of thousands of heroic revolutionaries and selfless workers have built up at the cost of their lives and untold sacrifices, a Party which is the hope of the toiling millions of India.

The National Council calls upon all Party members and Party units to rally round the banner of the Party, defend its unity and honour and exercise maximum vigilance against the forces of disruption and disunity.

The National Council is fully alive to the danger that the attack of the splitters on the Party is likely to be accompanied by similar attacks on the unity of the trade unions and other democratic mass organizations. This attack, too, must be resisted tooth and nail, for, if the disruptors succeed in their game of setting up rival unions, rival kisan sabhas, etc. it will be a grave blow to the unity of the toilers in their struggles against class oppression and exploitation and for better conditions of life and democratic rights.

Such disruption will only bring grief to the mill of the monopolists and reactionaries in every walk of life, enabling them to divide and suppress the struggles of the working people, deprive them of all their gains and crush their fighting mass organizations.

The National Council declares that the Communist Party of India, the revolutionary Party of the Indian working class and of all the toilers in town and countryside, will remain united to fight the battles of the toiling and democratic masses of India. The Party has been built by the sweat and blood of millions of our countrymen. Their sacrifices and devotion cannot go in vain. The banner of the Party will be victorious.

worst enemies of the Party could ever indulge in such shocking activity and that, too, in collusion with the pro-American weekly *Current*.

OPEN REVOLT

The "Left" leaders have now publicly announced their future course of action. It amounts, in short, to organizing an open revolt by Party members and units against the National Council and against the accepted political line of the Party, and to preparing for the organization of their own all-India Congress which they have the temerity to call the "Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India". They have decided to circulate their own documents and to convene a meeting of "representatives of Party members from all over India" after two months.

These and other decisions have been adopted in the seceders' conference which has been in session, as they admit in their own statement, from April 2 to 9 in Delhi.

Draft "Programs" and other documents have been issued to and discussed by Party members specially invited to this conference from various states and districts. The press has been briefed every day.

Clearly a rival Party — all but the formal signboard — has been openly set up. And yet its organizers put forward so-called "proposals" for the National Council to accept as the price of their co-operation, even at this last moment. This is nothing but a last desperate attempt to dictate terms to the majority.

The National Council wishes to make it clear that it is always ready and anxious to explore all avenues for restoration of Party unity at any stage. But how can unity be restored as long as the seceders do not agree unconditionally to scrap their rival and parallel party centres and to accept unhesitatingly the authority of the National Council?

It has to be emphasized that these desperate anti-Party activities have been resorted to in the background of the rising wave of mass struggles in India on economic and democratic issues, a wave in which the Party has been playing a glorious and most prominent role.

For the first time in the history of our Party, an all-India mass movement has been unleashed against the monopolists and the anti-people forces of the Congress government. This movement which began with the Great Petition campaign and the Great September March last year, is entering the next stage of preparations for an all-India General Strike.

It is precisely at this moment that the seceders have come out with their open split.

The disruption unleashed by this group inside the Party has, therefore, to be strongly condemned for the immense damage it has done, not only to the Party but also to the entire working class and popular democratic movement in the country. It has brought grist to the mill of the reactionaries and the vested interests — internal as well as foreign. Such a crime cannot be forgiven.

has, in the eyes of the whole world, become the standard-bearer of peace. We add our applause to the ovations of the Egyptian people, who are giving a rousing and grateful reception to the head of the Soviet Government, the friend and supporter of the peoples fighting for complete independence.

The presence at our Congress of numerous delegations from the People's Democracies, and their speeches demonstrate the unity of the socialist camp. We deeply regret the absence of the delegates of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, who did not have French visas. We applaud the message which our comrades sent us from the German Democratic Republic and assure them of our fraternal solidarity.

We also applauded the message of the Vietnamese Party of Labor, whose heroic struggle for national independence, for socialist construction and for the country's democratic reunification we have always supported, and with which we have particularly close bonds. We extend fraternal greetings to all comrades, present and absent.

The presence at our 17th Congress of delegations from many Communist parties of capitalist countries also reflects the powerful upsurge of our international movement and the unshakable loyalty of the Communists of different countries to the principles of proletarian internationalism. While greeting the delegates of all these parties from the bottom of our heart, everyone will understand that our Congress sends special expressions of solidarity to the courageous Communist Party of Spain, whose policy of unity contributes so effectively to the development of mass action against the Franco regime.

Fraternal greetings to the working people of Spain, to all the anti-fascist fighters of Spain! Fraternal greetings to the brave strikers in the Asturias!

Allow me to express the deep gratitude of the Congress to the representatives of the national democratic parties of the independent African countries, the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, Guinea, and the Mali Republic. We ask these delegations, when they return to their countries, to convey to their parties and their peoples the fondest wishes of the Communists and the working people of France.

At the price of many years of harrowing and selfless struggle, the people of Algeria, led by the National Liberation Front, have triumphed over colonialism and re-established their national independence. The achievement of freedom and sovereignty by Algeria is a victory for all progressives. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism and acting on the properly understood interests of France, we have from the first supported this just struggle. Three years ago, our 16th Congress appealed to all Frenchmen advocating negotiations, to take vigorous actions in favor of peace. Today, we heartily wish success and prosperity to Algeria, which has embarked on socialism.

We send equally heartfelt greetings to the other independent African countries, which have courageously taken the road of creative development.

In their speeches at our Congress, the delegates of the fraternal Communist parties have reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of

the international working-class movement and to its unity. One cannot help feeling concern and grief over the fact that the leaders of the Communist Party of China are departing more and more from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, from the line worked out jointly on the basis of these principles by the international conferences of Communist and Workers parties in 1957 and 1960. They are spreading incorrect theories of a purely adventurist nature.

Instead of considering the contradiction between world socialism and world imperialism as the principal contradiction of our time, the Chinese leaders contend that "the principal storm centre of the world revolution," the pivot of the contradictions of our time, is located in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are trying to oppose the national-liberation movement to the socialist system, in order to knock in a wedge between the peoples fighting for independence, on the one hand, and the socialist countries and the international working-class movement, on the other.

But could the national-liberation movement ever have achieved all its successes without the October Socialist Revolution? Could it have done so without the 46 years of creative labor and the immense sacrifices of the Soviet people? Could it have done so without the Soviet Union's victory over Hitler Germany and Japan? It was the historic achievements of the Soviet Union that created the conditions for the liberation of the Asian, African and even the Latin-American peoples, and China is no exception. It is the Soviet people again, who are able, thanks to their labor, to render material aid to many countries, thus helping them to build up independent economies. It is the Soviet people who stand guard over the sovereignty and integrity of the newly-free countries.

This statement of the facts is not made by me to belittle the importance of the struggle waged by the peoples in the former colonial countries for their complete independence and of their own contribution to the solution of the big problems of our time.

The Chinese leaders are committing gross blunders. Instead of considering the new balance of forces in the world, which leads to the conclusion that it is possible in our time to prevent world war, they are playing with fire and making a policy devoid of any sense of responsibility for the future of the peace and the very existence of the peoples. This attitude prompts them, among other things, just like de Gaulle, to oppose the Moscow Treaty and advocate the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Instead of recognizing that concrete conditions of time and place create possibilities of either peaceful or non-peaceful forms of revolution, the Chinese leaders condemn the peaceful form out of hand, and recognize only the non-peaceful. Furthermore, they obscure the temporary character of the dictatorship of the proletariat and reject the conception of a state of the whole people. In effect, they denounce the idea of a united front with the Socialist parties, and seek thereby to turn back the clock by 40 years.

Having at first acknowledged the evil caused by the Stalin cult, they have now changed their minds about it. They glorify the methods

The only position which could satisfy them was one in which the elected majority would agree to accept the status of a minority, while they, the actual minority, could dictate terms as though they were the majority. The National Council refused to surrender to such outrageous demands.

The "Left" leaders complain that the National Council and some State Councils have used their majority to carry out vindictive disciplinary actions against them.

LENIENCY OF NATIONAL COUNCIL

The truth is that the National Council and these State Councils can, on the contrary, be charged with sowing excessive leniency to persons who, while sheltering under the cover of their Party membership cards and their reputation as Party leaders, have been systematically wrecking the Party from within, repeatedly violating every single principle of Party organization and discipline, throwing all accepted Party norms and forms to the winds and running full-fledged rival Party centres from Delhi and several states. This has been conclusively established by the Central Control Commission in its latest report submitted to the National Council.

In the face of such conscious, planned and cold-blooded wrecking activity, the only disciplinary action taken so far against any leading member of this group has been the public censure of Comrade A. K. Gopalan in last October! The National Council has erred, if at all, on the side of leniency by any standards. The disruptors have taken full advantage of it to further intensify their anti-Party activities to an unparalleled extent.

Knowing that they cannot justify their ideological, political or organizational stand (in fact, they admit that they have serious ideological differences among themselves which have been subordinate to a common factional interest), the "Left" leaders have produced the diversionary provocation of the alleged "Dange letters" and are counting on cheap sensationalism to serve as a smokescreen for their nefarious anti-Party game.

The National Council has heard the available evidence and held that not even a prima facie case has been made out for the genuineness of the letters. It has repudiated the slanderous accusation that Comrade Dange was or is a British agent. Even then, in order to carry out a more thorough probe, it has appointed an inquiry committee of seven National Council members.

But why did not these "Left" leaders who proclaim from the house-tops that they are convinced of the genuineness of the letters produce their evidence, if any, before the National Council? Why did they walk out? Why did they not return even after Comrade Dange declined to take the chair during discussion of this subject? And why do they now repeat the demand for an "agreed inquiry committee" when their representatives have already denounced to the world that the genuineness of the letters is beyond doubt?

They did not have the decency even to raise the issue in the CEC or the National Council before rushing to the press. None but the

was defeated at Vijayawada—a line of total opposition to the Congress, which leads to unprincipled alliances and understandings with reactionary, communal and separatist forces such as the Muslim League, the DMK, Swatantra Party, Akalis, etc., in the name of fighting the Congress.

According to the seceders, the majority in the National Council against them was the fortuitous result of the "crisis" of October-November 1962, the declaration of Emergency and the arrests of a large number of comrades. *This could not be a greater denial of truth than this.*

The "crisis" referred to so diplomatically by the Left leaders was, of course, the crisis caused by the Chinese aggression. When the National Council met in November 1962 to denounce this aggression and to declare its unequivocal stand for national defense, not a single arrest had been carried out.

The National Council resolution was adopted by overwhelming majority after thorough discussion and debate when these seceders were present and when none of them had been arrested. How then could it be claimed or insinuated that the majority was not a genuine one?

Yet another gross distortion in the statement of the Left seceders refers to the alleged rejection by the National Council of their proposals for "the organization of inner-Party discussion" and for "creation of necessary conditions in which a Party Congress can be convened". This, according to them, has prevented their participation and co-operation in the solving of inner-Party problems.

This presumably refers to the discussions which took place in the National Council meeting of October 1963, on a document by Comrade Basavapunniah and 16 others entitled "The Threatening Disruption and Split of the Party—How to Avert the Disaster?" This document which was circulated in clandestine fashion outside the National Council also, was replied to by Comrade Dange on behalf of the Secretariat which later published both documents.

In the meeting itself, the Council agreed to open discussion on all the controversial questions, to prepare for the Party Congress, and to associate with this work nominees of the minority group.

The National Council agreed to postpone the Party Congress, though it was overdue, until after the comrades in jail were released.

The CEC elected a Commission to prepare documents for the Party Congress in which were included Comrades M. Basavapunniah, EMS Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu and P. Ramamurty. When the Commission meetings were called, these comrades boycotted them and later on organized their rival conference.

Why were these offers rejected by the "Left"? What more could they want? Today they pose themselves as champions of Party unity who have been forced out of the Party by the "undemocratic" practices of the majority. But the truth of the matter is that they were all along determined to flout the basic principles of Party organization and the authority and discipline of the National Council and to continue their activities as a rival party within the Party.

regretted and condemned by the working-class movement, and do so, evidently, because these practices persist in their country.

In trying to spread this indefensible line, the sectarians and dogmatists of the CPC leadership fall back on impermissible practices in their relations with other Communist parties, and resort to gross aggression and calumny.

They say in our country that anything exaggerated does not count. What Communist or, generally speaking, what sensible man in France and elsewhere, would give credit to the outrageous and, at once, pitiful and ridiculous contentions of the Chinese leaders against our Party?

Who would believe that we "defended the positions of French imperialism" and that we are "opposed to the struggle of the colonial peoples for their independence"?

In any case, it would not be believed by those who have in the last 40 years responded to our call and battled against the injustices inflicted on the peoples of Morocco, Syria, Vietnam and, more recently, the people of Algeria.

It would not be believed by those who paid with their liberty for supporting the liberation struggles of these peoples.

From Sabatier, killed on October 12, 1925, during the big strike against the war in Morocco, to the nine people killed in Charonne—of whom most were Communists—the blood of our dead cries out against the calumnies of the Chinese leaders.

The peoples now free do not believe the insulting charges made against our Party. The presence of delegates from many of them at our 17th Congress is precious evidence of the strong friendship that binds us, and of the active solidarity that has in no sense ever been one-sided. We have helped the peoples of the oppressed countries, and they have helped us, the proletarians of France.

The Chinese leaders are multiplying their attempts to disorganize and divide the working-class movement. They employ all kinds of renegades and adventurers to further their disruptive enterprise. Their sole aim is to injure the Communist movement.

Can one remain indifferent to their intrigues? Can one keep silent? For a long time we showed extreme discretion, over the theoretical differences of the Chinese leaders with the whole international working-class movement and their disruptive work against our parties. We confined ourselves to briefing them on the resolutions of our Central Committee, and it was not until the end of 1962 that we informed just the members of our Party about our speech at the 1960 meeting.

The Chinese leaders mistook this moderation and this desire to conduct the discussion on a fraternal basis, for weakness. They expanded their disruptive activities. They went to the length of outrages and slanders.

Today, our entire Party, as the Congress has just declared, considers it necessary that all the Communist and Workers' parties solemnly reaffirm the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We believe it is necessary to reaffirm the Communist theses on peaceful co-

existence, on the possibility to avert war, the possibility of advancing to a world without arms and without wars, the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism in definite circumstances, and the necessity of creating a united front with the socialist parties.

Our Congress has pronounced itself in favour of an international conference in order to discuss the problems of the international working-class movement, and to safeguard its unity. The only people who could oppose such a conference are those who wish, in one sense or another, to go back on the principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

Comrades, the serious deviations of the Chinese leaders remind us, if that is at all necessary, that in all circumstances the Party must always firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist principles. In our own Party, and internationally as well, we must always struggle with determination on two fronts: against sterile sectarianism and narrowness, which today represented the chief danger, and also against Right opportunism, against revisionism, which is still in evidence.

We have entered a period of big battles. It is therefore doubly necessary that our Party should be strong ideologically, that it should be steered, always combining fidelity to principles with the bold and flexible tactics that convince and attract the masses. At the same time, the Party must be solidly organized on the basis of democratic centralism. Equipped with the new rules, it will accomplish its tasks still more surely.

As always, it must not stint its strength in the performance of its mission, which is to serve with devotion the working class, the people, and the country. It will struggle with all energy to hasten a big democratic change, a regime of progress and freedom, which is feasible in our time solely in the context of socialism.

How far we have travelled since 1922, since that Congress in Paris at which I, a young worker, was a delegate of the Pas-de-Calais federation! That was when, on Lenin's recommendation, our Party first raised the problem of working-class unity and a united front with the Socialist Party.

Ever since that remote period we have worked tirelessly to eliminate the split and to reunite all working people in a single militant front. In 1934, exactly 30 years ago, when the working people of France rose against fascism, our efforts were crowned with an agreement on united action between the Communist and Socialist parties. Soon it was followed by the Popular Front, and a joint program for democratic parties and groups came into being. We had joined hands not only *against* something, that is, *against* fascism, but also *for* something—for "the Popular Front of bread, freedom and peace".

The Popular Front yielded many benefits to the working class, the peasants, and all the other working people. It gave them higher wages, collective agreements, a 40-hour working week, paid leaves, a wheat office, etc. Once again, the democratic spirit asserted itself in our country. When the war was over, after the battles of the Resistance and Liberation movement, it was through unity that we

internal affairs of brother parties, have become the self-proclaimed aim of the present leadership of the Communist Party of China.

OPEN ATTACKS ON OUR PARTY

During the last 16 months, the Central Executive Committee and the National Council had also to take cognisance of the open attacks on our Party by the leaderships of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Indonesia. Early last year (February 1963), the National Council adopted a resolution denouncing the leadership of the Communist Party of China for attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of our Party through open calls issued by it through articles in the *Hungchi* (Red Flag) and *Peking People's Daily*, as also through the Peking Radio.

The pamphlet called *A Mirror for Revisionists* in which our Party was attacked as the "Dange clique" and as an agency of the imperialists and the Indian big bourgeoisie and landlords, was answered in the pamphlet written by the Chairman of the Party *Neither Revisionism nor Dogmatism is our Guide*.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia stooped to the low level of characterizing the leadership of our Party as "spies" and calling for the disruption of the Communist Party of India by elements which it considered to be "genuine Marxist-Leninists". All this was denounced in a resolution of our Central Executive Committee.

The *Hungchi* and *People's Daily* editorials of February 4, 1964, have issued an undisguised call for splitting our Party.

The activities and behaviour of the dogmatist, sectarian group in our Party have run parallel to the attacks on the Communist Party of India by the leaderships of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Indonesia.

It is against this background that the National Council has to judge the latest acts of the leaders of the disruptionists in the Party.

The 32 who have walked out to place themselves outside the Party claim that the National Council majority advocates and practises the "general political tactical line of Congress—Communist unity", which mounts to gross reformism and which, according to them, was defeated by their efforts at the Vijayawada Party Congress. This is a blatant distortion of truth.

No general line of Congress-Communist unity was ever advocated at Vijayawada. As is well known, the real struggle at the Sixth Party Congress was for the correct line which was eventually adopted—the line of building the National Democratic Front, of unity with democratic elements inside and outside the Congress, on common issues, against the anti-democratic policies of the Congress.

WHO VIOLATED PARTY DECISIONS?

It is not the National Council which has violated the Party Congress decisions since 1961, as falsely alleged by the disruptionists; it is the latter who have struck doggedly to their Left-sectarian line which

HISTORY WILL NOT FORGIVE THEM*

AT CRUCIAL STAGE OF TOILERS' MOVEMENT SPLITTERS AT WORK

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, which concluded its six-day meeting in New Delhi on April 15 adopted the following resolution:

Thirty-two members of the National Council, having walked out of its meeting on April 11, 1964, have issued a press statement amounting to a manifesto and programme of action. The National Council of the Communist Party of India has considered this document of the "Left" minority group and found it to be a catalogue of falsehoods, distortions and anti-Party slanders, meant to justify the splitting tactics and disruptive activities of its authors.

By their walk-out and their subsequent stand as revealed in their statement, these 32 comrades have put themselves outside the pale of the Party. They have forfeited their rights as members of the Communist Party of India.

The seceders have openly declared war upon the National Council, upon the Secretariat and the Chairman of the Party in the name of "struggle against the factional activities" of "S. A. Dange and his group".

In this connection, it is well to remember certain hard facts of the past and present.

Firstly, this is not the first occasion in the Party's history when this same "Left" group has resorted to the anti-Party tactic of blackmail through threatened walk-outs and split. The most glaring example of this was seen at the Vijayawada Party Congress in 1961, where, finding themselves in a minority, these "Left" leaders and their followers threatened to walk out of the Congress unless they were given more representation than they could legitimately claim on the new National Council. They did not hesitate to precipitate a crisis in the presence of delegations from several fraternal Communist parties.

Secondly, the National Council would be failing in its duty if it did not expose the latest disruptive actions of the Left-sectarian group in their proper international context, i.e., not as an isolated event, not as a coincidence, but as an integral part of a worldwide move to divide and split as many Communist parties in the world as possible.

As is well-known, splits by minority groups have been deliberately planned and carried through in recent days, in the Communist Parties of Belgium, Great Britain, Australia, Ceylon, Peru and other countries. Disruption on an international scale and naked interference in the

gained new victories: social security, nationalization, the vote for women, the status of civil servants, etc.

We were bent on uniting all the sound forces of the nation and proffered a fraternal hand to the Catholic working people and working people of other faiths in order to fight in concert for happiness on earth.

In these years the people of France recognized our Party more and more as the bearer of their hopes. As far back as 1936, at the time of our Eighth Congress, in order to make the future of our country secure, we appealed for the unity of the French people against the two hundred families who exploited them. The Communists denounced and combated those who undermined national prosperity and impelled the country towards stagnation. They regained the *Marseillaise* and the tricolour for their people.

Since then the Party's national far-sightedness and national courage came into evidence at every stage — it condemned the Munich betrayal, waged war against the Hitler invaders, opposed the Atlantic pact and the notorious strike force in any of its forms. We continue the history of France. The history of our Party is marked, as with milestones, by important initiatives in the service of France, by its national actions. This has won it the trust of the people. Nobody in France can ignore the Communist Party. Today, as before, it has decisive weight in the country's affairs.

It has won extensive support among the main sections of the working class, in the important industrial centres. At the same time, its words carry weight among the people in the countryside.

Communists head the most important trade union organizations of the working class. The working people elect them freely by reason of their devotion and ability. The Communist Party is a party of proletarians, but it can also be proud of the fact that the most prominent intellectuals of France occupy in our ranks the place left empty by Anatole France and Henri Barbusse, Langevin and Joliot, Eluard and Léger. The Communist Party, we see, represents the France of working people and that of the intellectuals, the whole industrious and productive population in all its wealth and variety.

On its banners it has inscribed the slogans of struggle for socialism, for communism, which will secure prosperity and abundance, culture and freedom for all. Marxism opens the only new road to mankind that will lead it forward and, so to speak, rejuvenate and renovate it.

It is not surprising that the youth, which does not want an unjust society — a cruel, egoistic world based on violence, a world without ideals — turns to the noble cause of communism. Is it not enough to glance at this hall, at the faces of the delegates, to see this?

In our Party young people are trusted with responsible posts. No greater happiness exists than to devote one's life to the Communist cause and to see a new generation rising around it to which we will pass the torch.

Everyone of us, young and old, knows what he owes to the Party.

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Everyone of us knows that he will never be able to give it as much as he gets from it, and is always prepared to serve the Party, no matter what functions it may entrust him.

In a few minutes the delegates of the 17th Congress will return to different parts of our country. They will be guided in their work by the clear decisions we have adopted. They will be animated by the conviction that life makes the imperious demand of unity between Communists and Socialists, based on the pooling of the energy of all republicans.

Let us do all we can by our ardent, persevering and tireless efforts for unity to hasten the day when a new democracy will arise in France and when the country will be able to advance firmly forward to socialism.

Long live working-class unity!

Long live the unity of all democratic forces!

Hail to the 17th Congress of the French Communist Party!

Long live Communism!

the disgraceful designs applauded by the warmongers, the imperialists and reactionaries throughout the world, and deeply regretted by all patriots and progressively-minded people who cherish peace, national liberation and socialism.

It is our deep conviction that the course charted in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences will ultimately win, because it accords with the objective development of mankind and leads to a society without wars, without exploitation and oppression, its banner being peace, fraternity of labor and science, and happiness for all people.

and whose aid enabled the Chinese people to score their biggest successes in industry and technology.

The CPC leaders have realized this. They have realized that the masses in their own country, on the three continents and in the rest of the world are baffled by the unbridled campaign against the Soviet Union. That is why they proclaimed out of hand, in Stalin's style, that the Soviet Union has become a capitalist country (sic!). This was the pivot of countless articles published in the press and broadcast over the radio. But the Peking leaders, in their blissful ignorance, ought to be told that you cannot ever change the system of a country that way, and the convictions of people, either.

We know our country very well and can assure the Peking leaders that proclamations of that sort will never evoke our response, or fall on fertile soil, either in Syria or any other Arab country.

The Arab workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals have grown out of their infancy. They have matured, and their opinions are not formed by what they hear, but by actual experience. And experience always shows them that the Soviet Union is a loyal friend of the Arabs in their struggle against imperialism, for national and social liberation. Khrushchov's name is today as popular in any Arab country as that of the most prominent of its national leaders. For the Arabs it is a synonym of the Soviet state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We Arab Communists are not abashed by the Chinese leaders' calling us and other Communist parties "pawns on the chessboard of Soviet diplomacy". We reject this accusation scornfully. It is not a novelty for us. We have heard it for dozens of years from the imperialists and their agents, and the Right-wing nationalists. I can just imagine what Farahjalla Helou would say if he heard, when being tortured, that the Peking leaders accuse him of the same thing as his executioners, who were breaking his bones.

The friendship of the Arab and Soviet Communists, and Arab-Soviet friendship generally, is like a rock, and anyone who tries to undermine it will break his head against it.

Will the Peking leaders ever come to their senses?

It was after this article was written that the world learned about the decision of the CC, CPSU Plenary Meeting and Comrade Suslov's report on the disruptive activities of the CPC leaders. We are deeply convinced that in reading these documents all the Communists in our country will, as always, find views and conclusions prompted by devoted loyalty to Lenin's glorious party and the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism, and deep concern for the unity of the world Communist movement.

We declare our full support for the position of the CPSU and the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties regarding the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders.

We also hold, in accordance with the latest decision of our Central Committee, that it is necessary to convene a new international conference of all Communist parties in order to discuss the situation in the world Communist movement, foil the plans of splitting it, and take effective measures to strengthen its unity. It will help to thwart

STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

RESOLUTION* ADOPTED BY A PLENARY MEETING OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

The Communist Party of Denmark has repeatedly emphasized the decisive significance of unity among the Communist Parties in the struggle to resolve the historical task of our time—the task of ensuring the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. Hence we could not but deplore the publication by the Communist Party of China of its "proposal concerning the general line of the international Communist movement" of June 14, 1963. By advancing this proposal the CPC widened and deepened its differences with the overwhelming majority of Communist parties, violated the agreement to call a halt to the public polemic, and struck a blow at the striving to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement through discussions between parties.

The main questions brought into dispute by the CPC are: the attitude towards the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, the significance of national-liberation movements, the personality cult in the Communist parties, and the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

It has therefore become necessary for the other Communist parties clearly to state their views on these basic problems. Our Party does so in order to forestall any attempts to distort or sow doubt in regard to its aims and tasks and with a view to further substantiating our policy. Our Party also seeks to promote the achievement of greater clarity and to strengthen the ranks of our movement through an exchange of views among Communists.

1. The Communist Party of Denmark holds that life has fully confirmed the correctness of the general line of the Communist movement as set forth in the joint documents of 1957 and 1960. Underlying these documents is the view that the world is now in transition from capitalism to socialism, that ours is a time when social development is determined above all by competition between the two diametrically opposed social systems — socialism and capitalism — and when the socialist world system, in alliance with the other anti-imperialist forces, is increasingly exerting a decisive influence on social development. The proposals of the Communist Party of China on all the basic questions run counter to this general line. Attempts are being made theoretically to substantiate these

*Land og Folk, August 28, 1963.

proposals by claiming that the national-liberation movement in the former colonies is now the decisive determinant of progress. In defiance of the facts, the forces of the working class and socialism are relegated to a secondary place. The CPD rejects both this view put forward by the CPC and the theoretical argumentation advanced to vindicate it.

2. Our Party and the Communist movement generally regard the *struggle for peace* as one of the main aims of their policy, as the cardinal task of our time. With the present balance of strength between socialism and imperialism there exists a tangible possibility of compelling the imperialists to renounce war, of excluding world war from the life of society even before socialism has achieved complete and final victory throughout the world. This means that the *peaceful coexistence* of states with differing social systems is possible. The transition to socialism is therefore a question which will be decided in each country through the class struggle; for socialism to triumph throughout the world there need be no world war. The Communists concentrate all their efforts on realizing these possibilities. The CPC, however, comes out against this jointly adopted militant line; it is opposed to peaceful coexistence being considered the general foreign policy line of the socialist countries capable of providing a way to socialism for all humanity. The CPC counterposes peaceful coexistence to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and socialism, regardless of the fact that in our time this struggle is inseparably connected with the fight for peace. It labels agreements facilitating detente and the achievement of peaceful coexistence as "capitulation". Inasmuch as peace and socialism are indivisible, the Communist Party of Denmark resolutely rejects this viewpoint.

3. *General and complete disarmament* would make it impossible to wage war and would provide the most durable foundation for the peaceful coexistence of states. Realization of the horrors of nuclear war makes the imperative need for disarmament clear to the peoples of all countries and impels them to fight for it. The Communist movement has jointly posed the realistic task of compelling the imperialists to accept general disarmament. To achieve this, however, vigorous effort on the part of all the peace forces is imperative; the prospect is one of progress through compelling the imperialists to accept a succession of partial disarmament measures.

The Communist Party of China has come out against these jointly elaborated aims. It calls struggle for disarmament a "sheer illusion" and seeks to reduce the demand for disarmament to a purely propaganda slogan. The leaders of the CPC describe the nuclear bomb as a "paper tiger" and are opposed to the danger it represents being brought to people's attention. Proceeding from this, they have levelled unreasonable and violent criticism at the test-ban Treaty, thereby setting themselves against all peoples, who are fighting for peace. Such a policy does not promote the cause of peace, and the Communist Party of Denmark rejects it, deploring that the CPC should have taken such a political stand.

There is yet another passage in the aforesaid article that rings strange coming from the Chinese leaders. "Engels said," they write, "that the proletarian movement must go through different stages of development, and that in every stage some people start marking time and stop helping the movement to advance." This sounds strange coming from them, because it describes their own condition. They are quite incapable at present of any advance.

However, what is the purpose the Peking leaders pursue with this third lie about continuous splitting of the Communist movement being inevitable? This is another important question, and every Communist, every progressive and every revolutionary patriot should apply his mind to it.

We Arab Communists of Syria are convinced that the three points we have listed here, more and more distinct in the pattern of the Chinese leaders' thought, these three points which we describe as three gross lies and three arch-absurdities, are nothing but a politico-ideological bridgehead, designed to justify the most disgraceful forms of disruption of the world Communist movement and, perhaps, the foulest forms of alliance with all the enemies of this movement, particularly the enemies of its vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

People who could spread the monstrous lie about restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. and Soviet collusion with American imperialism, and about a split of the Communist movement being objectively inevitable, must have far-reaching plans, the object of which is, firstly, to smash the alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the national liberation movement, on the other; secondly, to split the national liberation movement in all countries; thirdly, to split the Communist parties in the newly-independent countries and stop all co-operation between them and other national and progressive forces; fourthly, to subvert the world Communist movement, and, fifthly, to establish upon its ruins Chinese leadership of the Asian and African countries.

Those are the ambitions of the Peking leaders. What else could prompt them to utter such monstrous lies?

To justify their attacks on the Soviet Union before the masses in China and in the Asian, African and Latin American countries, the Chinese leaders want to make them believe the Soviet Union has become not only a capitalist, but even an imperialist state. Is this not proof enough that they have run into a blind alley?

WILL THE CPC LEADERS REGAIN THEIR SENSES?

The workers, peasants and intellectuals of China, like their brothers in all the Asian and African countries, are surely unable to find an explanation for the furious campaign of the CPC leaders against the greatest and strongest socialist state, founded by Lenin, which defeated Hitlerism and entered the history of science as the home of the first spacemen, a country that sacrificed 30 million men, women and children to pave the way to victory for the Chinese revolution, a country which then proffered a helping hand to the people of China

laws. What is right for a society divided into classes—where the struggle between classes, as Marx, Engels and Lenin proved, is the motive force of history—and what is right for some specific class, such as the capitalist class, which consists of groups with conflicting immediate interests though generally connected by common class purposes and tasks, is applied by the Peking leaders not only to the working class, but also to the Communist movement, which is its vanguard and which represents its vital interests, the same for all, harmonious and free from contradiction: the building of socialist and then of communist society.

With this strong basis, Leninists oppose the existence of more than one communist party in any country and, consequently, the existence of more than one Communist movement in the world.

The Chinese leaders say that "a process of bifurcation of unity proceeds in the international working-class movement, just as it does in all other things" and that "unity—struggle or even a split—a new unity on a new basis—such is the dialectics in the development of the international working-class movement". If we take their words at their face value, we arrive at the startling conclusion that struggle between opposites is an organic and immanent feature of the working-class and Communist movement, and that, consequently, this struggle cannot be overcome. In other words, it follows that a split of the working-class and Communist movement, induced by continuous, endless and eternal struggle between opposites within that movement, is a natural condition (because it is governed by the same laws as any other natural phenomenon), while unity is accidental and exceptional.

The unity achieved after the split which the Chinese leaders are urging today, will, according to their own construction, be temporary and, in turn, subject to split, since that is the eternal objective law of dialectics.

If that is so, there is no objective material basis for the great Marxist slogan, "Workers of all lands, unite!"

If that is so, every worker and every workingman has good reason to ask the Chinese leaders: how can you promise us a united and harmonious society if the working class, under whose leadership we are supposed to work for it, and if its Communist vanguard, too, are doomed to splitting, that being a constant and eternal law?

Is that the way the Chinese leaders want to "strengthen" the faith of the masses in proletarian revolution, in its advantages and its future?

May we ask the Peking leaders whether this "objective" "dialectical" law of "continuous split" also applies to the Communist Party of China, or whether this "dialectics" of theirs does not suit the Chinese conditions? Or could they, perhaps, have closed China's doors to all dialectics?

In the same breath, the Chinese leaders say the following: "by destroying proletarian unity, dissension does a service to the bourgeoisie and accords with its needs".

Could there be a more convincing way of expressing the substance of the split which the Chinese leaders are urging, which they are working for, and which they present as an objective law?

4. The Communists seek to effect the *transition from capitalism to socialism* by peaceful means. This is possible only if the peoples unite in defense of their interests, isolate the reactionaries and compel them to refrain from using force, the danger of which always exists. In view of the fact that the rule of monopoly capital comes into conflict with the interests of ever wider sections of the people, the conditions for building the necessary anti-monopoly unity are improving. We therefore have set ourselves the task of stimulating in the activity of the people and heightening their confidence in their own strength through a democratic struggle for peace, independence and regeneration of democracy combined with effective action against the monopolies. If the working class consistently and firmly takes the lead in this struggle, it will be able to unite around itself the majority of the people, isolate the reactionaries and in this way ensure the victory of socialism. The program and policy of our Party rest wholly on these convictions. The proposal of the CPC, however, clearly runs counter to the line which it approved in 1960 jointly with other fraternal parties. Calumnious allegations are made that this policy "regards the movement of the present as everything", and that the Communists who pursue this policy "are disavowing the revolutionary demands of the masses" and in effect preventing revolutionary uprisings where they might otherwise flare up. These concepts have nothing in common with reality and our Party rejects them wholly. The same applies to the exhortations to orientate our policy solely on preparing for the non-peaceful way. Such exhortations are a call to withdraw into complete isolation and to pursue an adventuristic policy.

5. The new, more favourable conditions for the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world are the result above all of the tremendous achievements of the *socialist countries* in construction and raising the material and cultural standards of their people's life. Thanks to these achievements the socialist camp is exercising a growing influence on world development. We are completely unable to understand why the Communist Party of China seeks to belittle the significance of this fact, or why it has gone so far as to accuse Communist parties of socialist countries of "helping to revive capitalism". Such accusations, especially when levelled against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose achievements offer the most convincing living proof of the superiority of socialism as a social system, must be most resolutely rejected.

6. The *national-liberation movement* in the newly-emerged countries is an important part of the anti-imperialist struggle and of the overall process of change under way in the world. The Communists, therefore, fully support this movement, even in cases when it is not led by the working class. The attempts of the Communist Party of China to counterpose Communist parties to the national-liberation movement can only have negative consequences. For it is the support of all the anti-imperialist forces and primarily of victorious

socialism that enables the peoples of the newly-emerged countries to forge ahead along non-capitalist lines.

7. The exposure of the Stalin *personality cult* was of decisive significance for the development of the entire Communist movement. All parties assessed the 20th Congress of the CPSU as having ushered in a new phase in the movement, and life itself has confirmed this assessment. Consequently, it is impossible to understand why the Communist Party of China holds that the struggle against the personality cult is "erroneous and harmful". The Communist movement cannot and will not allow any repetition of the mistakes of the past, which have already been rectified. It will see to it that these mistakes will never be repeated again.

8. The implementation of the line of the Communist parties in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism presupposes consistent *struggle against bourgeois ideology* in all its forms. There can be no "peaceful coexistence" in the sphere of ideology. Hence our Party is constantly on guard against both revisionist and dogmatist distortions of our policy. Our Party has given a vigorous rebuttal to revisionist sallies and thereby staunchly upheld and advocated the line of class struggle in the Danish working-class movement. The fact that the leaders of the Socialist People's Party have been moving farther and farther to the Right has fully demonstrated the need for such action on our part. We therefore reject as utterly groundless the accusation made by the Communist Party of China that our policy is "revisionist" or "opportunist".

9. The *unity of the Communist movement* is a guarantee that all the available opportunities will be utilized in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism. Precisely because of this the parties pledged themselves to undertake no actions that might undermine this unity. But to our dismay we find in the proposals of the Communist Party of China an undisguised call for a split in the fraternal parties and the movement as a whole. We hold that the CPC has no right whatever to pursue such a course.

10. Regarding the above-mentioned issues as being of decisive importance for our political activity, we completely reject the proposal of the CPC concerning a new general line. We fail to find in it a single weighty argument justifying changing the general line set forth in the agreed documents of 1957 and 1960.

We also deplore the methods to which the leaders of the CPC have resorted in assailing the jointly approved line. One cannot discern in these methods the slightest desire to achieve mutual understanding and unity. On the contrary, they reflect a factionalist approach which leads to increasingly contradictory positions. There is no justification for the arbitrary sallies against fraternal parties or the attempts to ascribe to parties views which everyone knows they do not hold. There is no justification for the assistance rendered to the ruling classes in the capitalist countries in their attacks against the fraternal Communist parties of these countries. Nor is there any justification for the unwillingness of the CPC leaders to achieve the mutual understanding and principled unity in the in-

"true", "revolutionary" communism is poverty, hardship and need? Marx, Engels and, later, Lenin, demonstrated that socialism is a higher and more progressive social system than capitalism because, inevitably, it elevates production and thereby adds to the wealth of the people, because the purpose of production under socialism is to satisfy the growing requirements of the people and not, as in bourgeois society, to increase capitalist profits.

How and why could the Peking leaders forget, or pretend to forget, this ABC of Marxism? They reproach the CPSU for raising the material and cultural level of the people, although this should gladden every genuine Communist and Socialist (as pointed out in the resolution of our CC of July 1963) because it adds to the attraction of socialist ideas all over the world, and particularly the Asian, African and Latin American countries, whose situation resembles that of some parts of former tsarist Russia. They are eager to achieve progress as quickly as the latter achieved it under socialism.

What is the purpose the Chinese leaders pursue by spreading the monstrous and ridiculous lie that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union? This is an important question, and every Communist, every progressive and every revolutionary patriot, should give it deep thought.

THE SECOND LIE

The charge that the Soviet Union has turned imperialist and is colluding with the American imperialists to divide the world is the second lie spread by the Peking leaders.

All patriots in the Asian, African and Latin American countries hail and thank the Soviet Union for the firm support it rendered them by word and deed, morally and materially, in their struggle for liberation from imperialism, for national and economic independence, and progress. Not only the Communists, but also all patriots and even the bourgeois nationalists in those countries, say so openly and clearly.

All of them say that they consider the Soviet Union a bulwark, a helper and a champion in their struggle against imperialism, for political and economic independence.

What is the purpose the Chinese leaders pursue by repeating this second lie over and over to so large an audience? That is also an important question, and every Communist, every genuine progressive, and every revolutionary patriot, should give it deep thought.

THE THIRD LIE

Lately, the Chinese leaders have begun to spread a third lie. They are trying to persuade the Communists that a split of the Communist movement, both on an international scale and in every country, is an objective law of dialectical development.

All they have succeeded in doing by this "new proposition", however, was to disclose how far removed they are from understanding dialectical materialism and how little they know about applying its

which they can use in the interests or against the interests of peace, and in the interests or against the interests of the liberation movement. They have the resources to bribe venal writers, to bribe the press, and to buy the conscience of people.

THE FIRST LIE

The 1960 Statement of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties says that the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well, and that the combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. The CPC leaders affixed their signature to this Statement in December 1960.

It is a clear and lucid statement, and does not need to be specially explained or elucidated. What it means is that restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. from either within or without, is out of the question.

The Statement also says that "the Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society". This means that the Soviet people have completed the building of socialism, whose motto is, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work", and have embarked on gradual transition to communism, whose motto is, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

So we ask, have any far-reaching changes occurred in the Soviet economic system in the three-odd years since the Statement was published to give the Chinese leaders grounds to allude (in the seventh reply and other documents) to a "rapid growth of bourgeois elements inside the Soviet Union" and to "capitalist forces spreading widely in the U.S.S.R."?

Has the Soviet Union abolished its collective farms and turned the land over to big landowners and kulaks? Of course not. The Peking leaders know that perfectly well.

Has public ownership of the means of production been abolished, and have the factories become the private property of capitalists, monopolies and stock companies? Of course not. The Peking leaders know that perfectly well, too.

So why infer "restoration of capitalism" in the Soviet Union?

Do they think that the higher living standard of the Soviet population, the fact that they eat and dress better and that their cultural level has risen (all due to steady growth of production at a rate unknown in history before) means restoration of the capitalist system in the U.S.S.R.?

If they do, let them tell us, as Comrade Khrushchov said, what object the workers and peasants pursue in making a socialist revolution? Is it not to achieve a better life in all respects?

Could the Chinese leaders, due to their irrational domestic and foreign policies, have lost faith in ever achieving a higher standard of living for the masses of China? Could they be trying to convince the Chinese masses that any sign of welfare is "bourgeois", and that

ternational Communist movement which above all the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been striving for in its relations with the Communist Party of China.

11. Seeking to make its contribution to the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, our Party will make a profound study of the problems that have been raised. We shall work to foil the attempts of our opponents to use the sallies made by the CPC in order to sow confusion, and shall conduct our discussions in strict conformity with Party rules. We shall not allow the attacks made by the CPC to undermine our friendly regard and our respect for the Chinese people and the struggle they have successfully waged under the leadership of the CPC.

We shall continue to work tirelessly for the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of the principles set forth in our joint documents. We appeal to our Chinese comrades to discard their narrow viewpoint which has nothing in common with reality and can only cause harm. We urge them to display a desire to understand the requirements of our time and the conditions in which the fraternal parties are carrying on their struggle, a desire for unity, which is of utmost importance for our common cause.

Our interests are identical. We have common aims. There are no real grounds for policies aimed at a split. Hence we are convinced that unity will triumph and give new impetus to the steadfast efforts of the Communists for peace, democracy and socialism.

August 24, 1963

PROPOSALS ON STRENGTHENING WORLD UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

STATEMENT* OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK,
ADOPTED ON NOVEMBER 23-24, 1963

Our Party has always considered the strengthening of the international unity of the Communist movement a task of prime importance. Hence we are seeking ways and means of furthering this aim in the present situation.

Our position on the current differences was set forth in a resolution adopted by the Central Committee on August 24, 1963. This position has been fully endorsed by the entire Party; moreover, it has been confirmed by later developments.

Life has shown that attacks against the general line adopted by the Communist movement have only played into the hands of its enemies. In view of this, and taking into account the position of other Communist parties, we propose that the open polemic be terminated.

*Land og Folk, November 24, 1963.

The exchange of views to date shows that the agreed decisions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings should be regarded as the basis uniting the Communist movement. We suggest that in the light of this fact the possibilities be explored for the convocation, as soon as the necessary political preparations have been completed, of a new international meeting of the Communist parties with a view to reaffirming these decisions, taking into account the experience gained since the last meeting.

FOR UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

STATEMENT* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK, ADOPTED APRIL 19, 1964

The Communist Party of Denmark has always fully supported the general line which the international Communist movement elaborated at its meetings in 1957 and 1960. Hence our Party has consistently combated all distortions of this line and all attacks levelled against it both by the Right-wing, revisionist elements, in particular those represented by Axel Larsen, and by the dogmatists and sectarians who consider themselves to be more "Left" than our Party.

From the very beginning of the debate in the international Communist movement we have voiced our disagreement with the dogmatic and sectarian views of the spokesmen of the Communist Party of China. We set forth our arguments at the meeting of Communist parties in 1960 and since then we have in diverse ways confirmed and expounded our position. In particular, the Central Committee stated its views on this question in its resolution of August 24, 1963.

At the same time we have consistently sought to ensure that the discussion among Communists be conducted in a comradely spirit, so as not to give the anti-Communists any opportunities to use it to denigrate the Communist movement. In the various messages we have sent to fraternal parties we laid stress on the responsibility they bear in this respect. We have voiced the view that the atmosphere could be improved by stopping the open polemics, and supported the initiative of a number of fraternal parties, in particular that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has displayed a praiseworthy sense of responsibility, devotion to principle and patience in dealing with the difficulties that have arisen in the international Communist movement.

We therefore deplore the fact that the leaders of the CPC, who carried the public polemic far beyond all permissible bounds, not only rejected the suggestion that the public debate be discontinued but have latterly gone to even greater lengths. Moreover, they are attacking positions which they only recently upheld themselves. They are assailing the basic principles of joint statements, accusing the

*Lond og Folk, April 19, 1964.

problems of peace and peaceful coexistence, disarmament and the possibility for mankind to avoid the horrors of a destructive thermonuclear war, peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism, alliance between the socialist countries and the national-liberation movements, and, particularly, the immense, continuously growing influence which the socialist world exerts on international developments and on the situation in every country. This has created "real opportunities of resolving the cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism", and other problems as well.

Like our brothers, all Arab Communists, we Communists of Syria expressed our opinion on these problems in numerous resolutions, articles and studies. Our opinion coincides in every respect with the opinion of our comrades of the CPSU and all the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world.

However, when replying to criticisms of their views, the Chinese leaders prefer not to base the discussion on the concrete facts. They raise an outcry and fling accusations right and left. This is because the answer they received from our brothers of the Soviet Union and the leaders of the Communist movement in all countries disclosed the weakness of their position and knocked the bottom out of their slanders and claims.

EVOLUTION OF THE POSITION OF THE CPC LEADERS

In this article, we shall deal with three points that are gaining prominence in the evolution of the Chinese leaders' position, namely:

1. their attempts to persuade the public that the Soviet Union has restored capitalism;
2. their attempts to persuade the public that the Soviet Union has become an imperialist state, that it is not fighting imperialism and is bent on dividing spheres of influence with the U.S. imperialists; and
3. their attempts to persuade Communists that a split within each Communist Party in particular, and the world Communist movement in general, is objectively conditioned and natural.

These three facets of the Chinese leaders' position are closely interlinked. They show that the Chinese leaders have overstepped the bounds of purely ideological struggle. Every Communist and revolutionary sincerely fighting for peace, national liberation and socialism, no matter what trend he follows, must therefore be highly vigilant and weigh all the facts properly in order to see the deep abyss into which the Chinese leaders may fall due to their blindness, their folly and hatred, and to see what dangers their position and behavior hold for the world revolutionary movement and particularly the national-liberation movement.

The present deviation of the CPC leaders is incomparably greater in scale and influence than the Trotskyite deviations of the past. The Trotskyite group consisted of a fairly small number of people whom the Communist movement was quickly able to remove and isolate. The Peking leaders, on the other hand, hold power in a vast country and have a state machine at their disposal at home and abroad,

victory of socialism united the Communists of all the world, and cemented their ranks.

This is why the Communist parties regarded the polemics started by the Chinese leaders with an open heart and infinite patience. They conducted the comradely discussion with calm restraint, and never let it out of their minds that they had to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

The Communists of Syria, too, made their modest contribution to these efforts. We refuted the views of the Chinese leaders and responded to their slanders in a restrained, thoughtful and comradely way. Our Central Committee resolution, made public at the end of July 1963 after it was unanimously approved by all the branches of the Party, said:

"It is the supreme duty of every Communist to safeguard the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp with its main force and vanguard, the Soviet Union, and to safeguard the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement with its true and tested vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of the great Lenin. Every Communist worthy of the name must cherish this unity as the apple of his eye. No matter what differences may arise between Communists, they are immeasurably less important than the great cause which unites them. They have one enemy—imperialism—and one goal—peace and national liberation, and democracy and socialism throughout the world."

Many Marxist-Leninists all over the world hoped against hope that the Chinese leaders would realize their folly and come to their senses.

To create a tranquil atmosphere conducive to fraternal exchanges of opinion between members of the Communist family, Comrade Khrushchov suggested stopping the open polemics and opening negotiations between parties. The vast majority of Communist parties supported his proposal. Some prominent comrades offered to mediate in the matter. But all these efforts went to waste. With undue conceit, the Chinese leaders mistook these efforts for a sign of weakness and "fear" of their "incontestable arguments". They mistook them for a sign of "confusion" in face of their articles, which, due to narrow vision and isolation from the masses even in their own country, they believed to be masterpieces and revelations one only needed to read to prostrate oneself before the "genius" of Comrade Mao Tse-tung as pious Chinese do before the likeness of Buddha.

The Chinese leaders persisted in their folly. In the end, they exposed themselves completely, proving by their seventh and eighth replies that they had been insincere when signing the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. They showed their disagreement with what they had signed, and revealed thereby that they had affixed their signature to the documents merely to preserve their ties with the Communist parties and to exploit these ties to continue their disruptive activities in the world Communist movement.

We do not intend in this article to disprove their erroneous views on the key problems, on which there was complete agreement when they signed the documents that they later repudiated. We mean the

Soviet Union and other socialist countries of allowing themselves to be dominated by "capitalist forces," and trying to prove that a split is inevitable in the Communist movement. The actions of the CPC leaders constitute an unprincipled drive to bring about a split.

The situation demands new effective steps to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement. The experience of our movement shows that unity can be ensured only on the basis of devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is therefore necessary to reaffirm, elaborate and elucidate the principles which unite the international Communist movement and are its distinguishing features. The further fruitful development on this basis of the political thinking and activities of the various Communist parties, in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the respective countries, is an essential component of this process.

The CC, CPD has time and again, and in particular at its plenary meeting in November 1963, declared for the convocation of an international meeting to confirm the general line charted earlier and to elaborate, on the basis of this line, a new positive initiative conforming to the changing situation. Proceeding from the fact that genuine unity can be achieved only through a constant exchange of views between independent and equal Communist parties, we believe that it is now more important than ever to call such a meeting and that preparations for it should be begun as soon as possible.

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We believe that the time is ripe for the Communists of all countries to undertake a new positive initiative in the struggle for peace, national freedom and socialism.

The Central Committee authorizes the leadership of the Party, on the basis of the position outlined above, to continue to give effect to the Party's striving to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement and to increase its contribution to the cause of communism.

ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE COMMON BASIS—DIFFERENCES OF OPINION MUST NOT UNDERMINE UNITY

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY ADOPTED AT A
PLENARY MEETING ON JANUARY 5-6, 1963

Having heard the reports of the Norwegian Communist Party delegations who visited China and Poland, and of delegations who attended the congresses of some fraternal parties, the Plenary Meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party of Norway has discussed the present situation in the world Communist movement.

The National Board herewith declares:

Differences of an ideological and fundamental nature over some important issues have arisen lately in the world Communist movement. The point of view of the Communist Party of Norway on these issues has been set out in fundamental, programmatic Party statements. We refer in particular to the Working Program adopted at the last Party Congress and to the draft Party Program, which sum up the point of view of the Party on vital international and national problems.

Our scientific theory of Marxism has been further advanced in a number of important fields. This is reflected in international resolutions and the resolutions of individual Communist parties, notably the new Program adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Norway was a co-signatory of the following international instruments: the Moscow Declaration of 1957, the Rome Statement of the West European Communist Parties of 1959 and the 1960 Moscow Statement of all the Communist Parties. These provide "a theoretical basis of principle for all the Communist parties in their joint struggle for the common goal" (Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the National Board on the Moscow Statement).

The National Board considers it necessary to elucidate its points of view on some of the main issues:

The Communist Party of Norway regards the struggle for peace as the most important task of our time. In this nuclear rocket age a new world war would be a disaster, the consequences of which are hard to foretell. However, a new world war can now be prevented; war is no longer inevitable.

The CPN holds that peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is possible and necessary for the survival of mankind. The CPN considers that the steps taken by the Soviet Union at the peak of the Cuban crisis saved the world from a thermonuclear war and, at once, protected the independence of the people of Cuba.

Chinese leaders evade this question. All they say is that "Trotskyism has different forms, and operates in most cases under the guise of the extreme Left wing". They only add a few general quotations of Stalin, to the effect that Trotskyism is a variety of Menshevism, Kautskysm and Social-Democracy. The Chinese leaders do not quote what Lenin said about Trotsky and make no mention of how, why and which of Lenin's positions were attacked by the Trotskyites, because if they were to disclose the purport of Trotskyism, they would thereby also disclose the purport of their own line.

It will be recalled that Trotsky took cover behind shrill "revolutionary" phrases to accuse Lenin of opportunism, retreating before imperialism, abandoning "true, revolutionary" Marxism and "world proletarian revolution", and concentrating on the consolidation of Socialism in the one country where it had won while neglecting to work for the spread of revolution to other countries, all of which goes against Trotsky's own ill-conceived theory of "permanent revolution".

What the Peking leaders say today against Lenin's successors, with N. S. Khrushchov at their head, is cast in the same mould, both in form and content, as the absurd accusations the Trotskyites made against Lenin.

That is something the Peking leaders try to keep from the public. But it only shows that they do not know the people, or that they treat them with contempt, because these facts are known to every Marxist with an elementary knowledge of the history of the world revolutionary movement.

The evolution of the Chinese leaders' attitude brings back to mind the evolution and inglorious end of Trotsky's dissension.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLEMICS

Earlier on, the differences between the Peking leaders and the world Communist movement were of an ideological complexion and concerned key political problems of principle.

In view of the complicated international situation and the different conditions from country to country, it was considered natural that divergent opinions should arise. It was also natural to expect that these differences would be settled by consultation and discussion. That is why conferences of Communist and Workers' parties were convened in 1957 and 1960. The conferences adopted a declaration and a statement, respectively, signed by all the parties, including the CPC. The two documents set out an agreed general line, which the parties undertook to follow in letter and spirit.

Even when the Chinese resumed the discussion of some of the problems many comrades thought it natural that differences should arise over the interpretation of the agreed text. It seemed to them that these differences were purely ideological and that they could be put out of the way, since all the Communists were of one mind regarding the definition of the present epoch as an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, and since such great goals as lasting peace and anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation and the

THE THREE ARCH-ABSURDITIES OF THE CHINESE LEADERS

By Khaled Bagdash

WHITHER THE CHINESE LEADERS?

Regret and pain are the words that best describe what we felt until lately about the strange attitude of the Chinese leaders. Then came their "seventh reply" to the CC, CPSU letter, and an "eighth reply" (*Jenminjhipao*, March 31 and April 4, 1964—Ed.), and all their inactivity at the Council of Afro-Asian Solidarity in Algiers and the Organization of Democratic Lawyers session in Budapest. After that no patriot or revolutionary in the Arab world, whether Communist, Socialist or progressive, could help feeling a sense of revolt and anger for these men sunk in the quagmire of nationalism, blinded by chauvinism and impelled by a phrenetic hatred of the CPSU and all the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

It is hard to believe that men who call themselves Communists could go to such lengths. What are they after? That is the question people all over the world ask themselves today.

The lessons of history show that a schism in the working-class movement is bound to develop dialectically. Especially if it assumes a "leftist" pose. Take Trotskyism. It began with "left-wing" attacks on Lenin and ended up as an adventurist trend, of which lack of principles and scruples is the chief trait. Trotskyites do not shrink from volunteering their services to imperialist intelligence agencies just so as to injure the Soviet Union and the socialist cause, and to split the Communist movement in various countries.

Every Marxist knows that their blind hatred makes the Trotskyites rave and rant whenever the Soviet people score a new economic victory or accomplish something in any other province. All of us know, moreover, that during the Second World War they wished defeat on the U.S.S.R., and acted accordingly.

That is the logic in the development of any group of dissenters. At first they wish defeat on the movement from which they split away. This wish is followed by direct actions to cause the longed for defeat, and lastly, their actions prompt them to make alliances and co-operate indiscriminately with the deadliest enemies of the movement they oppose, no matter what the consequences.

It strikes the eye that the Chinese leaders avoid any mention of the substance of Trotskyism. In their "seventh reply" they declare that Trotsky took issue with Lenin, but do not say which of Lenin's views and positions he opposed. In their "eighth reply", too, the

Al-Ahbar, April 12, 1964. Abridged. The sub-headings are ours.

The CPN regards relaxation of international tension and universal disarmament as necessary to secure peace. Norway must make its contribution to this by pursuing a neutral foreign policy, a policy of non-participation in blocs, and by supporting all proposals and measures promoting peace.

The CPN considers the new neutralist countries to be an important factor in the struggle for peace and an easing of tension, and against imperialism.

The CPN strives for peaceful transition to socialism. The possibilities for this are implicit in the changed international situation, the present situation in Norway and in the historical traditions of the Norwegian people and the Norwegian workingclass movement.

The CPN considers the struggle to safeguard the country's sovereignty, restrict the power of monopoly capital and extend the democratic rights of the people in all social spheres to be the principal objective of Norway's present policy. The solution of these tasks will pave the way for peaceful transition to socialism.

The CPN believes that each Communist Party must frame its policy on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with the concrete situation and the conditions prevailing in its country. It is impossible to create a universal course of action suitable for all countries. There are different roads leading to the same socialist goal.

The CPN regards international proletarian solidarity as the decisive basis of the struggle for peace and socialism. The National Board considers it a prime task to help preserve the unity of the world Communist movement. For this reason, the resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the National Board on the 1960 Moscow Statement says: "The National Board of the CPN welcomes with deep satisfaction the standards worked out in the Statement for co-operation and contacts between Communist parties."

The National Board of the CPN considers it natural that different points of view and different evaluations may arise in the different situations and conditions of individual countries. Discussion of these questions is necessary and useful. But it must be consistent with the standards worked out in the 1960 Statement for co-operation and contacts between Communist parties.

In view of the nature which the discussion sometimes assumed of late, the National Board of the CPN declares that all the parties must, in order to preserve and strengthen their comradely and fraternal relations, try to avoid such language and such measures as would unnecessarily aggravate the situation and thereby damage unity and impede resolving the questions by means of comradely negotiation.

The National Board refers to the point in the 1960 Statement which concerns exchange of opinion and experience between parties by means of conferences and joint consultations, and rejection of any steps liable to weaken or undermine the unity of the world Communist movement. Any spread of ideological and tactical differences to relations between states must be avoided.

The Communist Party of Norway is prepared to participate in a new conference of all the fraternal parties in order to determine

and resolve the differences of opinion. But such a conference should not convene before thorough preparatory work has been done for it. The unity of the world Communist movement is a matter that concerns all parties, and all parties must share the responsibility for it. The National Board welcomes the initiative of the Fraternal Italian Party, which suggested negotiations between two or several parties and recommended one or several commissions composed of representatives from several parties to examine and discuss the fundamental ideological questions in dispute, and to determine and examine objectively other existing differences.

As before, the CPN will take its stand on various ideological questions of current policy on the strength of internal discussions, and will set out its point of view when ever it deems necessary. The CPN will support all efforts to safeguard and develop friendly relations between the Communist parties, and will for its part try to conduct the discussion in a comradely way that will help to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement.

DIFFERENCES MUST BE DISCUSSED IN A COMRADELY WAY.

The NB, PN dissociates itself from the harmful trend of the discussion in the world Communist movement

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY ON THE DISCUSSION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ADOPTED AT A PLENARY MEETING ON OCTOBER 5-6, 1963

The point of view of the Communist Party of Norway on the questions now being discussed in the world Communist movement is set out in the Statement of the National Board adopted at a plenary meeting in January of this year, in the Party Program passed by the all-Norway Conference in April and in the Statement of the Party Secretariat on the conclusion of the partial nuclear test-ban treaty. The Communist Party of Norway has not changed its point of view, and does not agree to the proposals of revising the general line worked out at the conferences of Communist parties in 1957 and 1960.

The National Board greatly deplores the harmful trend the discussion has taken in the last few months, particularly because the discussion has also affected the inter-state relations of the socialist countries.

The Communist Party of Norway will not subscribe to the view that a split of the Communist movement is inevitable. All Communists and all Communist parties have a common basis. The factors that bring us together are far more important and significant than those

great international goal of consolidating the unity of the world revolutionary movement. Therefore, our Party fully subscribes to the proposal of the CC, CPSU to convene a conference of Communist and Workers' parties of all countries in order to eliminate the difficulties and intensify the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

April 25, 1964

AKEL CONDEMNS STAND OF CPC LEADERSHIP

STATEMENT* OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE AKEL (PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF CYPRUS WORKING PEOPLE)

Having discussed the CPC leaders' renewed attacks on the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the Politbureau of the CC, AKEL has adopted the following resolution:

1. In conformity with the September 20, 1963 decision of the enlarged plenary meeting of the AKEL Central Committee and Central Control Commission, the Politbureau resolutely condemns the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist splitting activities of the CPC leaders with respect to all the cardinal issues of today. Their erroneous, sectarian and dogmatic petty-bourgeois and nationalistic stand on the question of war and peace, the role of the socialist world system, the national liberation struggle of the peoples, and the forms of transition to socialism, is greatly harming the unity of the world Communist movement and creating difficulties for some fraternal parties. With their outrageous and slanderous attacks on the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties the CPC leaders are emulating the bitterest enemies of the socialist camp; they are doing serious harm to the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples, and, whether consciously or not, grinding the axe of the imperialists, the enemies of the working class and all peace-loving mankind.

2. Replying to the slanderous allegations of the CPC leaders that the Soviet Union does not help the peoples in their struggle for freedom, the Politbureau declares that the latest events in Cyprus fully refute these wild contentions. The Soviet Union's courageous and unconditional solidarity with, and support of the heroic people of that small island have proved the decisive factor in their effective resistance to the sinister aggressive plans of the imperialists and their agents in Ankara.

3. Denouncing the Chinese leaders' calumnious anti-Party attacks, incompatible with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the principles governing relations between Marxist-Leninist parties, the Politbureau expresses its profound conviction that the world Communist movement is strong enough to overcome the present difficulties caused by the disruptive activities of the CPC leaders. It will emerge even more steely and solid on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

4. AKEL vigorously supports all efforts aimed at achieving the

which may divide us in the appraisal of specific questions, be they even extremely important questions of current policy. Enemies of the working class and enemies of the peoples will be the only ones to gain from a split.

The Communist Party of Norway believes that it is possible to determine and discuss the differences of opinion in the world Communist movement in a friendly way and to resolve them in accordance with the standards of co-operation and contacts worked out in the 1960 Statement. The CPN will not take part in any discussion that may lead to a further aggravation and deterioration of the situation and will instead strive to restore the comradely standards of relations and discussions between all fraternal Communist parties.

The National Board therefore submits to all the Communist parties the proposal to end further open polemics and, at the very least, to take due measures for the discussion to proceed in a comradely atmosphere and in a politically justified manner. The National Board repeats the proposal it made in January to form one or several commissions composed of representatives of a number of parties in order to discuss the questions in dispute. Unity of the world Communist movement is not the concern of only the biggest parties, the CPSU and CPC. It concerns all the Communist parties, big and small, and all parties bear the responsibility for it.

ON THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

STATEMENT OF THE ALL-NORWAY CONFERENCE OF THE CPN ADOPTED ON APRIL 12, 1964

The all-Norway Conference of the CPN has discussed the situation in the world Communist movement and approves the decisions taken on this score by the National Board of the Party in January and October 1963.

The open polemics have grown more acute of late and it is now even more imperative than before to act in line with these decisions.

The all-Norway conference believes that one or several Commissions should be formed of representatives of many parties in order to clarify the existing differences and find ways and means of overcoming them.

All open polemics and all activities liable to deepen the existing differences must be ceased while this work is being done.

The all-Norway Conference holds that an international conference will be useful, provided it restores the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, taking into account the independence and equality of every single party.

The proposed commission or commissions must be given an opportunity to work in a tranquil environment, until they find a positive

*Havarighi, April 26, 1964.

solution. The commissions should begin their work at the earliest date. An international conference must yield good results and invigorate the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND POLITICAL TASKS BEFORE NEXT CONGRESS IN 1965

STATEMENT OF THE ALL-NORWAY CONFERENCE OF THE CPN
ADOPTED ON APRIL 11-12, 1964

The Program of the CPN passed at last year's conference stresses that struggle for the preservation and maintenance of peace is the most important task of our time. On the strength of an analysis of the present situation in Norway and the class structure of Norwegian society, the Program defines the purposes pursued in the struggle for daily objectives, for Norway's independence, for a renovation and extension of democracy and for restricting the power of monopoly capital, so as to pave the way for a peaceful transition to socialism. United action by the working class and rallying the people to back this policy is specified in the Program as the main task.

The contemporary world situation and that in Norway has created added opportunities for accomplishing these tasks. The Moscow nuclear test-ban treaty has been an important step towards a further easing of tension.

The developments in Norway show clearly that the time of class struggle is not over. The reluctance of employers to make concessions when signing collective agreements last year and this year proves this point. It is also proved by the reactionary offensive last year for the formation of a bourgeois government. In the circumstances, it was the correct class attitude of the Party that tended to improve the situation in the Norwegian working-class movement. At present, it is the task of the Party to intensify and extend the struggle for unity in order to form a common class front. This is necessary in order to repel the forces of capital and to secure a progressive policy.

There are deep-going differences between the CPN and the two other working-class parties on many programmatic and ideological problems. Therefore, the question of an "organizational merger" is unrealistic. What the present situation calls for—in spite of the differences—is to secure united action in areas where unity exists.

The principal political tasks, the Conference believes, are the following: 1. promote a broad popular movement for an atom-free zone in the North, to be sealed by treaty and guaranteed by the nuclear powers, and a Norwegian movement against NATO mixed-manned nuclear force. In that way, and by considerably reducing its own military expenditures, Norway could further a general easing

rias, Bilbao, San Sebastian, Madrid, Puertollano, Cadiz and Riotinto!
Long live the strike! Long live the demonstration! Long live unity!
Long live democracy!

May 6, 1964

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Spain.

for trade union freedom, a minimum wage of 150 pesetas, and presenting concrete economic demands for the given area.

There is no time to waste! The Asturian working people must be given to feel that they have not only the moral but also the militant support of the working people of the entire country.

At every enterprise, in every community, in every branch of industry, workers' committees must be set up without delay in order to provide leadership and direct the actions. Where no organizations exist, they must be established in the nearest future. This task must be tackled everywhere by the most class-conscious workers, especially the Communists.

The entire nation must give utmost support to the working people wherever a struggle breaks out.

We call on the tradesmen to sell on credit to the strikers and on the small and middle industrialists to support the demonstrations and strikes of their workers.

We call on the intelligentsia and the students to support the workers forthwith with all the means at their disposal!

We appeal to the armed forces and the police: the workers, students and the intelligentsia, the people, are not fighting against you. You are not well off, either. You, too, suffer from the present state of affairs. Do not let the government set you against the people! Disobey punitive orders! The dictatorship will ultimately disappear, but you, like the people, will remain, and it is not in your interests to assume the responsibility for any arbitrary actions in behalf of what are not your interests.

We also appeal to all the political and social anti-Franco forces: the dictatorship lies when it says that this movement is a Communist manoeuvre. It is a movement of all working people, all democrats. No party can take sole credit for it. The time has come to build contacts, to reach agreement and establish organized and regular relations in order to wage the big struggle mounting in Spain hand in hand, and direct it to a democratic settlement of the national problems.

Nobody should evade doing his duty due to prejudice, narrow-mindedness or fear of exposing oneself to danger. It is everybody's duty to unite and co-ordinate the democratic and anti-fascist actions of the masses before it is too late.

Every group, every politician should fulfil their duty with resolution for the sake of the present and future of the country.

Workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and women! To rally and fight together with the Asturians today means to use a favorable situation for the defense of your own rights and aspirations! If we give effective support to the Asturians, the dictatorship will be unable to suppress the rising powerful movement. We shall make a big step towards freedom.

All for one! Form fighting committees everywhere! Formulate and present your demands, including the demand for the right to strike and for trade union freedoms! Having united, hold work stoppages, strikes and mass demonstrations! Follow the example of the Astu-

of international tension and the realization of disarmament; 2. work for the introduction of a satisfactory public pension, block the road to rising prices, work for an increase in real wages, for a 40-hour working week, for four-week annual leaves, protection of days off, greater public housing programs, rejection of the Handal Committee proposal of raising house rents, and secure employment, among other things, by founding industrial enterprises in different parts of the country; 3. push through democratic reforms securing participation by employees in the management of production, and restrict the power of monopoly capital by means of nationalization and other measures. First and foremost, the big banks and sources of capital should be put under public supervision.

The Conference supports the Statement of the Plenary Meeting of the National Board in October that it is the principal task of all active and effective forces in the working-class movement to act in unison and secure the promises made before the communal election last year in the "counter-statement" of the Norwegian Labour Party group in Parliament, and other urgent demands.

The Conference emphasizes the necessity of applying all efforts to achieve good results for the CPN at the communal election in the autumn of this year.

Preparations for the 1965 Storting election should also begin now. The Communists, who are the most consistent fighters for peace, progress and socialism, must again be represented in the Storting. The Communist Party of Norway believes that a united labor front should be created in the coming parliamentary election, in order to inflict a telling defeat on the forces of capital.

A strong and effective policy of unity presupposes a strong Communist Party, efficient in all its sectors and active at all times. It depends mostly on the activity and attitude of the Party leadership and the membership whether the present favourable, objective situation will lead to further positive gains for the working class and all working people of our country.

WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE UNLIKELY TO HAVE POSITIVE RESULTS NOW

ENLARGED MEETING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN*

"We do not think that an international conference of the Communist Parties could have positive results in the present conditions. This does not mean that we are neutral or indifferent to the disagreements between Communist parties. Our Party Congress has adopted a very definite stand on these cardinal issues," C.-H. Hermansson, CPS Chairman and a deputy to the Riksdag, declared as he summed up his Party's point of view.

* * *

The latest proposal to call an international conference of the Communist parties was made in M. A. Suslov's speech at the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, on February 14. Earliest convocation of such a conference has been proposed by other parties.

STANDPOINT OF THE CPS CONGRESS

An enlarged meeting of the Working Committee of the CPS Board discussed these questions on April 20 and came to the unanimous conclusion that in the present conditions an international conference would be unlikely to yield positive results. At the same time, the Working Committee referred to the following passage in the Statement of the Party Congress in January 1964:

"The Congress reaffirms the propositions contained in the Party Program of 1953 and in the programmatic statement of 1961 regarding peaceful coexistence and the possibility of a peaceful road to socialism. The Congress rejects the Chinese Communist Party's criticism of this concept as unfounded."

ABOUT THE DISCUSSION

"I want to make the following comment on the Working Committee's stand," Hermansson said. "We consider it incorrect to describe the differences of opinion as 'a conflict between Moscow and Peking alone!' Some inter-state affairs may have played a certain part in the discussion, but in the main it concerns something else, namely, matters of supreme importance to all mankind: how to secure peace and social progress in the complicated conditions prevailing in the world today."

**Ny Dag*, May 13, 1964.

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE, INTELLIGENTSIA AND STUDENTS—TO THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN

APPEAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

The strike of the heroic miners and metalworkers of the Asturias is growing hourly. Tens of thousands have already stopped work, demanding trade union freedom, the right to strike, a minimum wage of 150 pesetas, and satisfaction of other perfectly legitimate demands.

The expansion of the strike started on May Day, when the working people of Biscay, Guipuzcoa and other localities went out into the streets fearlessly with the same demands as those of the Asturian workers. It is taking place at a time when the agricultural workers of Cadiz and part of Seville are waging a strenuous and audacious struggle, while the echo still resounds of the Madrid demonstration against the fascist trade unions, the strike of Riotinto and Puertollano miners, the strike at Altos Hornos in Sagunto and at other enterprises of Levante.

The strike is broadening in conditions when the working people of all Spain — Communists, Socialists, Catholics, Nationalists and anarchists — are making important steps towards unity; when the demand for the right to strike, for genuine democratic workers' trade unions without employers and henchmen of the political regime is spreading throughout the country; when the fight for new labor agreements has gripped the whole of the shipbuilding industry, and when the RENFE (national railways) and public transport workers are demanding a substantial improvement of their living conditions.

At the same time, the severe, unbearable policy of the government, prompted exclusively by the interests of the monopolistic and feudal oligarchy, the oligarchy of bankers and big landowners, is rousing discontent verging on indignation, in the rural localities, among small and middle industrialists and tradesmen, among the working people.

The entire country feels the pressing need for political changes, which enable the various toiling classes and sections of the population to act freely in defense of their legitimate interests. The entire country feels the need for ending the archaic fascist political structure symbolized by the present dictatorship which bars the way to modern development in our country.

In these circumstances, there *can and must* be solidarity with the heroic miners and metalworkers of the Asturias. The Communist Party calls on the working people of Spain to rally and carry out short stoppages, strikes and demonstrations for the right to strike,

Party in two directions: participation in the international discussion and defense of the general line of the Communist movement within the Party itself, on the one hand, and struggle within the Party for the unity of thought and action on the basis of the political line adopted by the Party concerned and the principles of democratic centralism, ruling out conciliation with any factionalist and splitting activities, on the other. Acting in conformity with this line, the CPP is fulfilling its internationalist duty and its duty to the working class and all working people of Portugal.

April 1964

SOVEREIGN PARTIES

There has not been any international organization of the Communist parties since the Comintern was dissolved in 1943. Every party is completely autonomous and free to state its own policy. This is the only possible approach, considering the different conditions obtaining in the different countries.

This autonomy does not rule out consultation and co-operation between Communist parties. In general, extensive co-operation is necessary among all forces and parties fighting in the different countries for peace, democracy and socialism. Therefore activities aimed at a split are particularly deplorable, because they have already led to the formation of new groups and parties in some countries. What the working-class movement needs is greater unity and not a greater split.

DISCUSSION NECESSARY

The above standpoint does not signify a negative attitude toward discussion. On the contrary, what is needed today is a more active discussion, both on an international plane and within our own Party. But it should be conducted in a way that could yield positive results. The invectives one heard in the course of the international discussion will only harm the socialist cause and discredit it in the eyes of the public. Especially harmful is the fact that the question of contradictions between rich and poor nations and between different races, was raised in this discussion. The socialist working-class movement must adhere to the principle of the equality of all peoples and races. Our solidarity should be less limited to nationality or region of the world than ever before. It should embrace the whole world.

RESOLUTION* OF PARTY MEETING, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

The Political Bureau of the CPF met on April 8 to discuss the situation that had arisen in the international Communist movement as a result of the Chinese Communist Party's rejection of the proposal of a number of fraternal parties to stop the public polemics and to restore unity. It was decided to publish the resolution adopted at the February 22-23 plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

At its February meeting the CC, CPP, discussed the disruptive activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China in the international and working-class movement. The report of the Political Bureau as well as speakers who took the floor in the discussion noted that this was not the first occasion the Party had had to consider the Chinese leaders' stand, which differs from the unanimously adopted decisions of the 1957 and 1960 international meetings. Many other Communist parties, under attack by the Chinese leaders, have also discussed the differences, and support the proposal to convene an international meeting in order to resolve these differences. Already at its November meeting, the Political Bureau of the CPF came to the conclusion that such a meeting would sooner or later be necessary, but did not consider it urgent at the time. Precisely at the same time the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to discontinue the public polemics and mutual recriminations, and to settle the problems at issue through fraternal negotiation on the basis of the 1960 resolution. The acceptance of this proposal would lay the groundwork for an international meeting, and for resolving the differences and achieving unity in the international Communist movement.

The Communist Party of Finland also refrained from public discussion of the differences and waited for an answer from the CPC to the reconciliation proposal. The Chinese leaders, however, ignored the proposal and intensified their attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties of the Soviet Union and other countries. The proposal for reconciliation was made in confidence by the CPSU Central Committee, but the Chinese leaders began to discuss it openly—for instance, in *Jenminjiaobao* of February 4, and in other articles published in many languages. These articles provided rich material for anti-Communist propaganda, inasmuch as they abound in false accusations, both old and new, against the policy of the Communist parties of

ON THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL

1. Reaffirming its position set out in the resolution "On the Situation in the International Communist Movement," adopted by the CC in August 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal notes that the situation has continued to deteriorate since then, owing to the intensified anti-Leninist activities of the Chinese Communist Party.

2. The CC, CPP highly appreciates the spirit of unity implicit in the unilateral discontinuation by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of public polemics and in the termination by it, from November 1963 till April 1964, of any public criticism of the CPC, giving the latter a chance to adopt the same stand. Instead of appreciating this move and following suit, the CPC took advantage of it to launch a campaign of slanderous attacks on the CPSU and other fraternal parties and to step up splitting work in many fraternal parties and in the international Communist movement as a whole.

3. In its resolution of August 1963, the CC, CPP supported the earliest convocation of a conference of Communist and Workers' parties, which would at once have the limited purpose of establishing a general agreement to stop the public polemics and prohibit interference by one Communist Party in the internal affairs of other fraternal parties. The facts have proved the correctness of this position. As time goes by, it is growing increasingly difficult to convene a conference and less possible to avoid a split. The CC, CPP considers that a conference of Communist and Workers' parties must be called without delay.

4. There are no ideological disagreements that could justify efforts to torpedo the unity of such a mighty bulwark of the international working class as the socialist camp, and to split the unity of the Communist movement on a world scale and in every country. The attitude towards the unity of the world Communist movement and the unity of the socialist camp is the touchstone for Marxist-Leninists today. Those defending it serve the interests of the working-class movement and the Communist cause. Those trying to undermine it are doing the greatest service to imperialism. The CPP, for its part, will make every effort to uphold the unity of the world Communist movement so long as there is the slightest possibility of avoiding a split.

5. The CC, CPP considers that the struggle in defense of unity under the banner of Marxism-Leninism is waged by every Communist

**Kommunisti*, No. 4, 1964.

apparatus and, consequently, the apparatus is primary and the program secondary".

Can it really be that the Chinese leadership also regards a program as being "secondary"? Can it really be that in the 15th year of their victorious revolution the Chinese comrades cannot work out a Party program? The PRC press often declares that the Chinese cannot go by the decisions of other parties—though nobody has ever urged the Chinese Communist Party to do that. But we may well ask: Where is your own program? Is such a Party good and "correct"—as you yourselves are fond of saying? And by what is one to verify the correctness of its home and foreign policy?

Incidentally, as regards the attitude to the Party program, too, a certain parallel may be drawn between the personality cult in the U.S.S.R. in Stalin's lifetime and the personality cult that is now current in China. Back in 1939, our Party decided at its 18th Congress that it was necessary to draw up a new program, as the old one had been carried out. It elected a commission to draft such a program. However, like the commission elected subsequently at the 19th Party Congress, this commission did not meet once. Only after the 20th Congress did it become possible to draft and adopt the new CPSU Program.

Can it really be that China's Communists are not asking why, in contrast to the Communist parties in other countries, their Communist Party, 18,000,000 strong, has no program of its own? Is it not an axiom of Marxism-Leninism that to steer a correct course, never losing sight of the goals and prospects and never veering from one side to the other, a Party must have a comprehensive militant long-range program for each stage of history? But the Chinese Communist Party has no program.

Does this not lead to the conclusion that the lack of a program provides a favorable setting for the personality cult — for where there is no program there are no restraints on the cult and even the fundamental, program positions of a party can be changed without particular difficulty, without giving the matter a second thought, just as the leader wants them changed.

The absence of a program, failure to convene Party congresses regularly, the "obsolescence" of congress decisions and the consequent impression that they are no longer obligatory, all have little in common with Marxism-Leninism. On the contrary, these things are characteristic of a Party leadership which has made the personality cult all-supreme and taken the road of revisionism. For it is precisely in these conditions that directives formulated under the impact of one or another impression can be substituted for a program, for the collective will of a party and for the principles common to the entire Communist movement.

other countries. In these articles the Chinese leaders demand that the polemics be continued and seek to provoke a split in the Communist parties and in other international democratic organizations.

In view of this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland can no longer remain silent in the face of the slanderous and disruptive policy of the leaders of the Communist Party of China in the international Communist movement. It is necessary to rally all our forces to ward off the threat of a division in the Communist movement and resolutely defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism. From this standpoint, an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties has become an urgent necessity. The object of this meeting would be to rally the Communist movement to the struggle for socialism and national liberation, taking due account of the changes that have lately taken place in the international situation. The Central Committee is in favor of such a meeting and authorizes the Political Bureau to take the necessary steps to ensure the victory of Marxist-Leninist principles and the integrity and unity of the Communist movement.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PARTY LIFE IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*

Back in 1912 the Prague Conference of the Bolsheviks adopted a resolution, proposed by Lenin, "On the Chinese Revolution", which was full of a warm feeling of respect for the Chinese revolutionaries and a readiness to give them every support. It stated: "... The Conference recognizes the world-wide importance of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, which is bringing emancipation to Asia and undermining the rule of the European bourgeoisie. The Conference hails the revolutionary republicans of China, testifies to the profound enthusiasm and complete sympathy with which the proletariat of Russia is following the successes of the revolutionary people of China, and condemns the behavior of the Russian liberals who are supporting tsarism's policy of conquest." (V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 17, pp. 434-435.)

Ever since the victory of the October Revolution, which shook the foundations of capitalism throughout the world and opened the sluices wide for the powerful stream of the revolutionary movement to spread all over the earth, China included, our Communist Party has always supported and continues to support the Communist Party of China, the Chinese revolution, maintains friendship with People's China and treasures this friendship.

Until recently, while the leadership of the Communist Party of China was still able to assess things objectively, this leadership repeatedly expressed, at its congresses and in individual statements, the highest esteem for the CPSU and its Central Committee, and for the line of the 20th Congress of our Party, and stressed the tremendous importance of the Soviet Union and of its support of, and assistance to, China.

We have never taken the liberty of criticizing the internal life of the Communist Party of China, although we had, and still have, some serious objections with regard to certain aspects of the activities of this Communist Party. We refrained from voicing our criticism because we regarded all this as the concern of the Communist Party of China—just as in other cases, such things are the concern of other Communist parties.

However, of late the Chinese Communists have appropriated the right to interfere in our internal affairs, both of the state and of the Party.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China lauds the Stalin cult, opposing our criticism of the personality cult and our measures to combat its consequences. This in itself, of course, is downright interference in the affairs of our Party.

**Pravda*, April 28 and 29, 1964.

no delegations from the fraternal parties were invited. Only two reports were published: by Liu Shao-chi, who delivered the Central Committee's report, and by Tan Chen-jin, who explained the basic points in the plans for agricultural development in 1956-67. The resolutions of the session and communiques on its meetings were also published. However, Teng Hsiao-ping's report on the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties was not published. This suggests that the report contained passages concerning the international Communist movement which the Chinese leaders found advisable to conceal from the members of their own party and the fraternal Communist parties. It may be assumed that the CPC had already begun evolving a special line running counter to the agreed decisions of the Communist parties.

Nor was Mao Tse-tung's speech at that session of the congress published either, though the communique said that he had addressed the session. Was the state of affairs in China such that the speech of the party leader could not be published? Was it not perhaps because the matters discussed were of an extraordinary and secret nature?

As distinct from the 1958 congress session, all reports and speeches of the 1956 session were published. For the benefit of the Soviet reading public the Soviet Party press printed in millions of copies the full texts of all reports and the more important speeches delivered at the congress, as well as slightly abridged versions of the other speeches made there.

But the most serious "peculiarity" of the Communist Party of China, and one due wholly to its leaders, is that, in effect, it has no program. This is a hard fact. The Communist Party of China has no program, for the Manifesto adopted at its Second Congress in 1922 is not regarded as a Party program even by the CPC itself. Though this Manifesto is of definite historical value, it can in no way serve the party as a guide to action today. No references are therefore made—nor can be made—to a program either in Party decisions or in the Party press.

There is no need to speak in detail in this article of the great importance that Lenin and our Communist Party attached to a Party program.

Lenin linked up the elaboration of a program with the very founding of the Party. In 1919, less than 18 months after the victory of the October Revolution, the Party adopted at its congress a program that oriented the Party and the people on the building of a socialist society, for by this time the previous program, whose aim had been the victory of the proletarian revolution, had been carried out. At its 22nd Congress, proceeding from the fact that socialism had been built in the U.S.S.R., the CPSU adopted a new program setting the historic goal of effecting the transition from socialism to communism.

In direct contrast to this concern for a Party program is the approach that many bourgeois party ideologists take to the subject. Thus, in his book *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, the American lawyer Friedrich says that "the Party is strong in its

silly, ignominious and ridiculous position". (*Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 493.)

The turn in home and foreign policy, the departure from the standards of party life generally accepted by Marxist-Leninists, can be traced back to the errors, manifestations of dogmatism and partial deviations from Marxism observed in the course of years; all this led to the present set of ideological and political views.

It is no secret that many of the political slogans which are now being put forward on the international scene have been current in China for many years. The atom bomb was declared a paper tiger back in 1946, while the thesis that "the whole world can be remade only with the rifle" is still older.

Up to the liberation of China, the CPC worked among the peasants, which greatly influenced its character as a party. In an article marking the 30th anniversary of the CPC Peng Chen noted:

"The Communist Party of China worked for a long time in enemy-isolated villages, and hence peasant and petty-bourgeois anarchy, subjectivism, sectarianism, bureaucracy, as well as adventurism, defeatism and other trends, at times with extreme ease found expression in the Party." This helps us to understand much of what is going on in the Communist Party of China today.

Prior to liberation, the CPC was made up chiefly of peasants, who comprised about 90 per cent of total Party membership in 1949. The proportion of working-class representation in CPC ranks climbed very slowly even after the founding of the People's Republic of China. On the eve of the Eighth Congress, in late June 1956, CPC membership had the following social composition: workers, 14 per cent; peasants, 69.1 per cent; representatives of the intelligentsia, 11.7 per cent; representatives of other sections of the population, 5.2 per cent.

Party congresses too were held in a peculiar way. For instance, when delegations from the fraternal parties came for the Eighth CPC Congress in 1956, they learned that for a whole fortnight before the official opening group meetings of delegates from the different provinces, of army delegates and of delegates from central offices had been held. This had been in a way a dress rehearsal for the congress, a rehearsal during which the texts of the various reports and resolutions were read, discussions held and speeches made. These meetings had chosen the speeches that were to be delivered at official sessions of the congress. It was even said that preliminary elections to the Central Committee by secret ballot had already been held.

No other Communist Party practised anything of the kind; moreover, such procedures can hardly be considered acceptable in any Party.

Nor did the following strange practice on the part of the CPC Central Committee pass unnoticed. Delegations invited from 50 fraternal parties attended the first session of the Eighth Congress in 1956. They were given the opportunity to state their views at the session and describe the state of affairs in their own parties. All that was good, the normal practice in all parties.

But when the second session of the congress was convened in 1958

The CPSU Program and Rules are being subjected to unscrupulous and utterly unfounded criticism in the Chinese press.

We're we to do anything of this sort with respect to the Communist Party of China, its leaders would at once attach the great-power label to us. But when they do it themselves, they consider it legitimate and correct.

Lately the leadership of the Communist Party of China has adopted a policy of unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda among its own people and in all other countries where they have the opportunity to conduct such propaganda. While attacking our Party and its Program, the Chinese leaders inordinately extol the internal conditions and practices of their own party, presenting its line of activity as "the most Marxist-Leninist" line, an impeccable line that might well-high serve as a model for others to follow—as if they really had serious grounds for doing this. They varnish up the state of affairs inside their own Party, and cover up their mistakes, of which, to take them at their word, they have none. This is evidence of a lack of the qualities which are above all essential to the leaders of a Leninist-type party.

Lenin said: "Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses." (*Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 39.)

It is precisely over the past decade, when the Leninist standards and traditions of party life were restored, that our Party has given an especially striking demonstration of its strength, boldly revealing its mistakes and shortcomings and taking radical measures to remove them. N. S. Khrushchov stressed in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 22nd Congress: "In conformity with the demands of its new Program and Rules, the Party will unswervingly observe Leninist standards in Party life and the principle of collective leadership, will make Party bodies and their members more strictly accountable to the Party and the people, will foster activity and initiative on the part of all Communists and their participation in the elaboration and implementation of Party policy, and will develop criticism and self-criticism."

That is what the Chinese leaders particularly dislike today.

In the present situation, it might be useful to expose the violations of Leninist standards of Party life in the Communist Party of China, for these violations are directly connected with the roots of the present anti-Leninist stand of the CPC leadership. It goes without saying that we shall not imitate the Chinese method of resorting to lies, falsification, crude sallies, vituperation, and insults, for that is unworthy of Communists.

ONLY TWO PARTY CONGRESSES IN 35 YEARS

A Marxist-Leninist Party is built on the principles of democratic centralism.

Any violation of these two elements—democracy and centralism—in one or another respect signifies a deviation from the Leninist principles of Party organization and inevitably engenders either bureaucratic or anarchist tendencies in its development.

It is generally known that Lenin, this greatest authority and universally recognized leader of the Party, did not consider it possible to direct the Party without regularly convening its congresses. His understanding of the role of congresses was that the leadership, the Central Committee, should report to the Party, in accordance with the requirements of the Party Rules, so as to collectively elaborate further policy, by taking into account the experience of the masses and the activities of the entire Party, or to introduce necessary amendments to the decisions of preceding Party Congresses, should this be called for by the changed situation.

Within four months after the victory of the October Revolution a congress of our Party was convened to formulate the tasks of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the Soviet system, as well as the aims of socialist construction. Both in Lenin's lifetime and right up to the beginning of the Patriotic War, Party Congresses were convened regularly. This tradition and major requirement of the Rules was restored in the CPSU after Stalin died.

The Communist Party of China held its Sixth Congress in 1928, its Seventh Congress in 1945 and its Eighth Congress only eleven years later, in 1956. Thus, the Communist Party of China has convened only two congresses over the past 35 years. The CPC held its Eighth Congress six years after complete victory had been won in the whole of China in 1949. This Congress adopted important decisions which basically corresponded to Marxism-Leninist theory, and represented the application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions existing in China. This has been noted time and again by our Party, which has not changed its appraisal of the 1956 Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Congress adopted the Party Rules. According to these rules, congresses are to be convened once every five years, Congress sessions to meet annually throughout this period; the delegates, elected to the Congress in 1956, retain their powers for five years. The Second Session was to have been held in 1957. It was held in 1958. That was the last session. Six years have already passed, although the Third Session of the Eighth Congress was to have been held in 1960, it has still to be convened.

This method of keeping delegates in office for five years is unusual and is not practised in any Marxist-Leninist Party. It cannot be considered a contribution to inner-Party democracy in the world Communist movement and it is not surprising that no other party has borrowed this "experience" from the Communist Party of China.

Let us examine, for instance, the following aspect of the matter. At the time of the election of delegates to the 1956 Congress, the Communist Party of China had 10.7 million members. Today it has 18 million, almost twice as many; yet the delegates elected in 1956 still represent the entire Party and retain their powers, although the

However, the situation could not be remedied because of a new swing in economic policy, now from a Leftist to a Rightist deviation. Agriculture was proclaimed the foundation of the economy, and at its Tenth Plenary Meeting in September 1962, the CPC Central Committee advanced the slogan, "Put agricultural development first". Needless to say, this is no "new important law of development of socialist economy" allegedly discovered in China, as the Chinese press claims. It runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and to the decisions of the Eighth CPC Congress of 1956, which state:

"In order to transform our country from a backward agrarian one into a leading socialist industrial power, we should, in the course of three Five-Year Plan periods or of a slightly longer time, create in the main an integrated industrial system, so that industrial production should dominate in social production, . . . so that the technical reconstruction of the national economy should be provided with the necessary material base."

It is hard to say anything definite at this moment about the state of China's economy. No economic statistics, not even the briefest of information on economic progress, have been published over the past few years. All that is known is that 1963, as far as economic indices are concerned, was better than 1962, while 1962 was better than the preceding year. For peacetime development, this kind of statistics cannot be considered normal. Prior to 1958 the situation was entirely different.

These are all "peculiar features" of the development of Party life in the Communist Party of China in the conditions of a flourishing personality cult. Neither the decisions of Congresses nor the decisions of the Central Committee have any independent and decisive significance; they amount merely to comment on the instructions of the leader. The newspaper *Chung Kuo Ching Nieu Pao* frankly declared on March 10, 1964:

"The instructions and documents of the Central Committee of our Party and the supreme organs are the crystallization of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung in present-day practical struggle and work."

A PARTY WITHOUT A PROGRAM

The emergence of the neo-Trotskyite deviation represented by the leadership of the CPC, a deviation characterized by petty-bourgeois anarchism and nationalism, Leftist revision of the resolutions of its own congresses and the decisions of the Moscow Meetings of the Communist parties, and deification of an individual is not a matter of chance.

No small role in this was played by the conceit which seized the CPC leadership following the major successes in socialist construction that preceded the "three banners" period. V. I. Lenin foresaw the danger of success making ruling parties conceited. He noted that the setbacks suffered by political parties had often been preceded by situations conducive to self-adulation. Lenin warned against the grave danger of a party "finding itself in a very dangerous position, namely, the position of a man who has grown conceited—a rather

leaders declared that owing to the Chinese peasants' high level of consciousness they would nevertheless be able to go over to communes sooner than the Soviet Union, which they regarded as having got bogged down at the co-operative stage. Moreover, the idea was to organize mammoth amalgamations of some 15,000 or 20,000 households each. But there were no experienced people to do the job, not to speak of the impossibility of giving proper guidance to operations on such a scale. Finally, not only were the communes put in charge of farming, schools and the local industries; they were also militarized, with people turning out for work as they might in army units.

One cannot but see a manifestation of petty-bourgeois ideology in the desire to forge on to communism through the village, through a hasty transformation of forms of ownership in agriculture. This meant ignoring the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the transition period, on the preparation of the necessary material and technological base, and the other essential conditions for the building of socialism and communism. What is this if not an attempt to substitute undisguised petty-bourgeois utopianism for scientific proletarian socialism!

The communes were set up under the slogan of "eliminating the remnants of private property". Garden plots, household livestock, poultry, orchards, trees, and farm implements, and, in many places, also homes and personal belongings (such as sewing machines, bicycles, furniture, pots, and other household utensils) were made the commonly-owned property of mammoth communes. Remuneration of labor in the countryside on the basis of the workday unit and material incentive was replaced by a minimum wage and free meals, according to the "number of mouths to feed", i.e., by a wage-leveling system. Scientific farming was proclaimed conservative and an obstacle to giant strides in agriculture. The decision adopted at that same Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in August 1958, said:

"The overcoming of Right-wing deviationist and conservative views and the scrapping of customary rules for the application of agrotechnical measures have produced a situation in which agricultural production is being increased twofold, several-fold, more than 10-fold, dozens of times over."

Fantastic projects were put forward to reduce the sown areas and there was talk about China having nowhere to store surplus rice over the next few years. However, several months later district after district in China found itself on the brink of famine. Food rationing was introduced. It had to be announced that harvest figures had been overstated, that actually they were only about half as much. The resulting hardships coincided with crippling natural calamities.

Hard times set in for the next few years, which were proclaimed years of "regulation" in industry and agriculture. The communes were reorganized. The old co-operatives were actually restored in the guise of big teams. The principle of material incentive was also restored to a substantial extent. But the courage frankly to confess that the Chinese leaders had suffered a serious setback in their communes policy was lacking. The slogan of the communes, therefore, remained, though in substance things changed most radically.

five-year term stipulated in the Rules has expired long ago. This means that almost half the Party, more than seven million members, have never elected delegates to Congress. What about inner-Party democracy then? What about the rights of Party members?

There is another curious thing. Since the Party Rules have not been changed, it would seem one should abide by them. However, they are being grossly violated.

The five-year term envisaged by the Rules expired in 1961 and a new Party Congress should have been convened and new delegates elected. But over seven years have passed since 1956 and it is not even known when a Party Congress will be held or why it is not being convened.

According to the Rules, the term of office of the Central Committee also expired long ago. However no one, including the Party itself, appears to be aware of this. Can this really be a matter of indifference to everyone in the Party? — even to the old Party members or those seven million who joined the Party after the last Congress and who thus participated neither in the election of its leading bodies nor in the elaboration of Party policy? Can the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China have allowed their sense of responsibility to their Party to have become blunted to such a degree?

The leadership of the Communist Party of China does not even consider it necessary to give the Party its reasons for not adhering to the Rules and for not convening congresses.

Everything shows that in the Communist Party of China these questions are now decided not by the Rules, but by the directives of Mao Tse-tung, as was the case with us for a certain period after the war, when Stalin was alive.

After the Second World War, the question of convening a Party Congress was raised on more than one occasion in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party. Stalin, however, used every means to put it off. The Party was prepared for a congress and the entire postwar situation called for one, above all in order to discuss the plan for restoring and further developing the economy. However, the plan was adopted without the sanction of a congress, the Party's supreme organ; this was a violation of its traditions and did not help to improve its practical activity.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee twice adopted a decision to convene a congress, even appointing a definite date, but Stalin contrived subsequently to obtain a postponement on the grounds that he was not prepared to present the report of the Central Committee, that because of his age he found it difficult and needed more time to prepare.

As a result, the Party Congress was convened only in 1952 instead of in 1946-48, and the only reason why it was not held at that time was the personality cult and the inordinate role it played in the Party leadership.

It may be assumed that something of the kind is taking place in the Communist Party of China today. There too the first five-year

plan or economic development was not discussed at a Congress, the "three red banners" policy and the transition from agricultural co-operatives to communes were carried out without any decision of a Congress and indeed in contravention of the still valid directives of the 1956 Congress. The new five-year plan should have started in 1963, yet to date there is no indication of a Congress being convened to chart the further development of economy. Moreover, it must be most definitely stated that the new course taken by the Chinese leadership, in recent years with regard to the world Communist movement, to international and domestic policies, and its new ideological platform, which is tantamount to revision of the major theses of Marxism-Leninism—all this sharp turn-about was affected without the Party being consulted, without a Congress being convened and contrary to the decisions taken at preceding congresses of the Communist Party of China. This signifies not only revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice common to the Communist parties, it is first and foremost revision with regard to the CPC itself, its principles and the decisions of its congresses.

Hence an attempt to analyze how and on what points the present ideological theses and practices of the Chinese leaders, who are driving towards a split, depart from the decisions of Chinese Party congresses, and how they contradict these decisions, can in no way be taken as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of China. This has nothing at all in common, either in form or in substance, with the gross interference of the Chinese leadership in the affairs of other parties.

REVISION OF THE POLICY OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The radical change in the position of the CPC leadership, its revision of theses jointly agreed upon at international conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties and of resolutions adopted at its own Party congresses can be traced without difficulty by examining its stand on international issues.

Strangely enough, the Chinese Communist Party has no program of its own. This is in itself a serious matter and we shall return to it later. The Party Rules, which the CPC adopted at its Eighth Congress in 1956, are prefaced with a brief "Program Outline". This document says that "the Communist Party of China advocates a foreign policy of preserving world peace and of peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems". Such was the general line of the Chinese Communist Party in international affairs at that time. Moreover it shared the general interpretation of peaceful coexistence. The report of the CPC Central Committee to the Eighth Congress emphasized that the 20th Congress of the CPSU had "put forward proposals for the further expansion of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation and made a signal contribution to the relaxation of world tensions".

It was on the basis of these principles laid down by their Congress

how the Five-Year Plan was being carried out. It lacked the courage to confess the shameful fiasco of the fantastic "leap" which so strongly smacked of the Trotskyite schemes for "super-industrialization" that our Party rejected long ago. The danger of these ultra-revolutionary Leftist schemes lay in the inevitable subversion of the alliance of the workers and peasants, since pushing things too far in industrialization inevitably means placing a heavy burden on the peasants. Naturally, this danger soon manifested itself also in China, during the period of the "leap". It was expressed in the establishment of the communes and in attempts to skip necessary stages of co-operative farming in the countryside, in Mao Tse-tung's formula "to work persistently for three years and reface, in the main, most parts of the country".

Lenin said: "If there was a Communist who dreamed of being able in three years to change the economic foundations, the economic roots of small-scale farming, he was, of course, nothing but an idle dreamer." (*Works*, 4th Russ. Ed. Vol. 32, p. 193). The difference between utopianism and Marxism is self-evident!

In its 1956 decisions the Eighth Congress of the CPC issued a serious warning against overdoing things in the collectivization of farming. It pointed out:

"In the process of developing the agricultural producers' co-operatives care must be taken to prevent heedless amalgamation of small co-operatives into large ones, so as to avoid difficulties in the work of economic management and production organization together with the adverse effects they have on farming."

But again the decisions of the Congress proved to be not obligatory for the CPC leadership. The "drive against the so-called overdoing of things" was castigated in 1958, and in late August the CPC Central Committee adopted a decision "On the Institution of the People's Communes", which read in part: "The transformation of collective property into the property of the whole people is a whole process. In some areas this transformation may be effected rather quickly, that is, in *three or four years*; in other parts this transformation may take place at a relatively slower pace, meaning that *five or six years* or a still greater period will be required."

The Plenum of the CPC Central Committee where this decision was taken put forward the ultra-Leftist slogan: "We must not mark time at the stage of socialism!" But how was it proposed to "skip" socialism? The Plenum decision supplied the following answer: "Apparently the realization of communism in our country is no longer something remote. We must make vigorous use of the form of the People's Commune and evolve through it a concrete way of effecting the transition to communism."

Yet the Chinese leaders now question the possibility of transition to communism in the Soviet Union, a country that has built socialism! Does this not echo, even if the form has been modernized, the Trotskyite contention that it was impossible to build socialism in our country!

Though lacking the material and technological foundation and other prerequisites for effecting the transition to communism, the Chinese

the over-emphasis on specialists". This all resulted in neglect of proportionate development, scrapping of technological processes and disdain for the quality of output.

Inasmuch as the Soviet specialists naturally could not but think in terms of balanced economic endeavor, technical progress, respect for technical standards and sound technological processes, they proved to be in the way of the organization of the "big leap", and the Chinese leaders took steps which could not but result in their recall from China.

However, as far as concrete plans for industrialization and the rates of advance were concerned, the second, 1958 Congress Session still took a realistic view of things, basically in line with the correct decisions which the Eighth Congress of the CPC had adopted at its First Session in 1956. The goals of the Second Five-Year Plan were not modified and, consequently, the 1956 decisions of the Congress still stood. The Leftist adventurist changes in the rates of advance and the "three red banners" line were introduced after the Congress and over its head.

Whereas at the Second Congress Session in May 1958, mention had been made, for instance, of working to overtake Britain in the production of main industrial items in "15 years or sooner", later in the same year it was already stated that Britain could be overtaken in steel and pig iron output in a year or two. This became the keynote all along the line. In the collection of articles *Long Live Leninism!* published in 1960 an attempt was made "theoretically" to justify disdain for technology: "Marxists-Leninists have always said that in world history the destiny of mankind depends not on technology but on the human being, on the masses".

Why did the Chinese leadership find it necessary to counterpose technology to the human being? Merely somehow to vindicate in the eyes of the Chinese people the setting of unreal, fantastic, unfeasible tasks, to justify its adventurist policy.

In the First Five-Year Plan period (ending in 1957) China's industrial output was nearly doubled. That was a great achievement. The Five-Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of time, in four years. We rejoiced together with the Chinese people at those successes. The Second Five-Year Plan called for doubling the industrial output. However, success bred conceit and gave rise to a desire to increase the rates of advance twofold, threefold and even more, completely unrealistic though this was. As a result, the goals of the new variant of the Second Five-Year Plan drawn up by the PRC State Planning Committee in July 1958, or in other words, shortly after the Second Session of the Eighth Congress, were arbitrarily boosted from a twofold increase in industry to a 6.5-fold increase over the five years, which meant an average annual rate of increase of 45 per cent. In agriculture a 2.5-fold increase was projected, implying an average yearly rate of advance of 20 per cent. This was the so-called 'big' or 'general' leap.

Five years went by but the Chinese leadership did not even think it necessary to render an account to the Party and the people on

that the Chinese delegates at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Communist Party meetings signed documents setting forth positions with regard to war and peace, peaceful coexistence and the class struggle on the international scene, unanimously adopted by all Communist parties in the world.

Who is now authorizing the editors of *Jenminjipao* and *Hungchi* to expound exactly the opposite?

The notorious "Sixth Article" (December 12, 1963) about the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU speaks in insulting terms, as of some crime, of the fact that the CPSU leadership "considers peaceful coexistence the 'general line of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and all countries of the socialist camp,' claiming that this supposedly 'means putting the sign of equality between the fraternal socialist countries and the capitalist countries' that it means 'renouncing the socialist camp', that this line supposedly 'accords with imperialism's wants and plays into the hands of the imperialist policy of aggression and war', that this line 'implies the substitution globally of class co-operation for the class struggle', etc. etc.

Apropos the U.S.S.R.'s international agreement and the class struggle in the different capitalist countries, there was a time when Mao Tse-tung fully appreciated the interdependence of these two questions. More than that, he saw to it that nobody in China understood it amiss, that is, in the way it is now being presented by *Jenminjipao* and *Hungchi*.

Referring in his explanatory notes to "About the Evaluation of the Present International Situation", to the possibility of agreements between the imperialist and socialist countries and, in particular, between the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Britain and France, Mao Tse-tung wrote at that time (April 1946) that "this by no means implies that the peoples in the countries of the capitalist world should also agree to compromises at home. The peoples of all countries will continue to wage the struggle, which will assume different forms depending on the situation".

In the 1957 Declaration the Communist parties conjointly and unanimously stated their view with respect to the forms of the struggle and the forms of transition to socialism in the capitalist countries:

"The forms of transition from capitalism to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the entire people, with the national interests of the country. . . . In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind."

At its Second Session in May 1958, the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party adopted a special resolution in which it unanimously approved the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto and stated that these documents had "ushered in a new stage in

the international Communist movement of today and had lent tremendous inspiration to all the working people and to all the forces for peace, democracy and progress throughout the world."

But what document and which Chinese Communist Party Congress has legalized the departure from these positions and in particular, the crass misinterpretation of the forms of the transition to socialism and unrestrained advocacy of armed forms of struggle, regardless of the situation and of the balance of forces, as being supposedly the only possible way and the "universal law of the proletarian revolution" (from the *Hungchi* and *Jeminitipao* articles, March 31 last) for all countries and nations? And, as the conclusion following from this "law", gross interference in the affairs of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, the demand that they start the armed struggle, and—whenever this demand is objected to—the practice of labelling the leaders of the Communist parties of these countries as being "cowardly as mice" or "pusillanimous penguins"?

Does that correspond to the spirit, the letter or the meaning of the documents of the Moscow Meetings or of the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party? There can be only one answer: not in the slightest!

For that matter, that is no longer concealed in China. In its eighth article of March 31 last, *Jeminitipao* directly demands "a re-examination and rectification" (which really means nothing but revision!) of formulation on major issues set forth in the Declaration and Statement of the International Meetings of the Communist parties.

The attitude of the Chinese leadership to disarmament and the ending of nuclear tests has undergone a similar metamorphosis. In the decisions of its Second Session adopted in 1958, the Eighth CPC Congress clearly and definitely stated:

"The Soviet Union was the first to stop nuclear weapon tests and the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the government of our own country conjointly decided to withdraw the Chinese people's volunteers from Korea. These facts show the peoples of the world that the countries of the socialist camp are prepared to do their utmost to maintain peace. However, the aggressive bloc under the aegis of U.S. imperialism is still slighting the peaceful aspirations of the peoples of the world and is still refusing to stop nuclear weapon tests, end the cold war, reduce armaments or withdraw its troops from Korea, and is still doing everything to put off a summit conference."

Thus, in 1958 even the unilateral ending of tests by the Soviet Union was regarded as a manifestation of the readiness of "the countries of the socialist camp to do their utmost to maintain peace", while the aggressive circles were criticized for ignoring the peaceful aspirations of the peoples. Now, contrary to what the Congress of the Chinese Communist Party proclaimed, the partial test ban is described as "capitulation to American imperialism" and as having the aim of "consolidating the nuclear monopoly of the

differently, and, it should be noted, more precisely, issuing a serious warning against reckless "leaps" and skipping of necessary stages of co-operative farming.

Thus, the report of the CPC Central Committee to the Eighth Congress in 1956 pointed out that the rate of advance "should be stable and reliable, in order not to digress from correct proportions in developing the economy, in order not to place too heavy a burden on the people or to upset the economic patterns, in order not to frustrate the fulfilment of the plan, in order to avoid wastefulness, which would lead to *adventuristic blunders*". This, certainly, hits the mark! It seems as if they themselves foresaw that adventurist blunders would lead precisely to such consequences. Unfortunately, that was what happened.

Another report to the same Congress, entitled "Proposals on the Second Five-Year Plan for Economic Development" gave the following warning against a Leftist deviation in development rates: "Some branches of the national economy and some areas sought to achieve successes faster: they attempted to accomplish in three to five years, or even in one or two years, what could be done in only seven-twelve years. The Central Committee of the Party promptly exposed and liquidated this deviation."

In its decision the Congress called on the Party "to combat the tendency to push blindly ahead without paying attention to the hard facts, the actual opportunities and the planned, proportionate development of the national economy".

On the theoretical plane we have witnessed these Congress directives being revised ever since Liu Shao-chi's report to the Second Session of the Congress in 1958, in which the "leap" was mentioned and the so-called theory of "saddle-type development" advanced. "Saddle-type development", the report explained, "implies peaks at either end and a drop in the middle." Movement of the economy after the pattern "high tide—ebb—a still higher tide, that is, a leap—conservatism—a still bigger leap—which should surely be clear to all", was elevated to the rank of a law of socialist development.

What really "is clear to all" is that a "theory" of this kind does not bear even a remote resemblance to Marxism, which considers planned and proportionate development the law of socialist economy. Cyclical development with ups and downs is a feature of the capitalist economy with its inherent anarchy of production. Lenin wrote in *Iskra*: "Capitalist production cannot develop otherwise than by leaps, taking two steps forward and one step (sometimes even two) back" (*Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed. Vol. 5, p. 74).

Evident in the same report were the dangerous tendencies of recognizing the inevitability of disparities in the economy and a snobish-Leftist attitude to technology and specialists. It demanded that the entire population take a hand in building up industry, so as to "refute the mystic assumption that this is the monopoly of the few", so as to "necessarily campaign firmly and steadfastly against the undue bias towards the latest technology", and "against

One feels the Chinese leaders are themselves aware of the folly and unreasonableness of all this. That is why their comments on this question are so confused and contradictory. They have been led to and placed in this position by the logic of factional struggle against the general line of the world Communist movement, by their vain attempts to find differences even where they do not exist to deepen and inflate these differences, and split the Communist movement.

They are, in effect, opposing close co-operation between the socialist countries because the Soviet Union accounts for the greater proportion of this co-operation, and in their anti-Soviet aberration they are sliding down to negation of the absolutely correct and irrefutable propositions adopted by the Congresses of their own party and by all the other Communist and Workers' parties.

The root of the trouble lies not in the differences on questions of co-operation within the socialist camp, but in the hostile attitude taken to the Soviet Union. That is the crux of the matter.

No wonder that when there was none of this hostility and bitterness, the Chinese leadership's view on matters of co-operation was diametrically opposite to its present one. Here, for instance, is an extract from Chou En-lai's report on the Second Five-Year Plan to the Eighth CPC Congress, which he made on September 16, 1956. It speaks for itself, and, therefore, needs no comment.

"The other view—the effort to build alone, in isolation from the outside world—is also erroneous. Needless to say, the assistance of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies will, as before, be necessary for a long period of time to build up an integrated industrial system in our country; simultaneously with this, it is also necessary to develop and expand economic, technical and cultural exchanges with other countries. In addition, even in the future, when our country will be a socialist and industrial power, it will be difficult to imagine ourselves being able to isolate ourselves and dispense with assistance . . . Hence the isolationist attitude to the building of socialism is also incorrect".

REVISION OF CPC INTERNAL POLICY

Over the past few years the so-called line of the "three red banners" has been proclaimed the expression of China's *internal economic policy*. The "banners" policy is made up of the general line plus the big leap and the people's Communes. The fact that the leap (the industrial policy) and the communes (the agricultural policy) are not included in but seem to supplement the "general line" is somewhat strange in itself.

No wonder that no fraternal party, even ruling Communist parties of Asia, adopted the "three red banners" policy, that dubious "contribution" of Chinese theoreticians.

You will look in vain through the decisions of Chinese Party Congresses for anything about the "banners" policy. On the contrary, these decisions formulate the Party's general line quite

three powers". (From the *Jenminjipao* and *Hungchi* articles.) What has changed? Have nuclear tests started doing humanity less harm? No, it is the view of the Chinese leadership that has changed and is now the exact opposite of that expressed by the Congress. But it is not even thought necessary to inform the Party and its supreme organ, the Congress, of this.

Having thus revised the theses set forth in joint Communist Party Documents and the resolutions of its own congresses on international affairs, the CPC leadership tried to shift the charge of revisionism to where it least belongs, and has been drumming away in issue after issue in *Jenminjipao* and *Hungchi*, that it is the leadership which is "making propaganda for its revisionist line of so-called 'peaceful coexistence', 'peaceful competition' and 'peaceful transition', and has started preaching the 'reasonability' and 'kind intentions of the imperialists'." (From the article of September 6, 1963.)

The Soviet press has only to mention that some personality in a capitalist country has displayed a reasonable approach, even on a trifling point, for the Chinese press to raise an incredible clamor.

We had particularly strong charges levelled against us for negotiating with Kennedy, whom the Chinese politicians saw as merely the personification of U.S. imperialism and reaction, maintaining that any sober approach on the part of his administration or any act from positions of reason and common-sense in matters of war and peace, was completely out of the question. Therefore, in the eyes of the "orthodox" Marxists of the present Chinese slant, our search for avenues to establish relations of mutual confidence with the U.S. in these matters, is betrayal of the cause of the revolution. However, in the CPC Central Committees' report of 1956, the Chinese leaders themselves singled out American personalities who had begun to realize that a new world war would not be of any advantage at all to U.S. interests. That report said: "Even among U.S. ruling circles we find more or less sober-minded people who are beginning to realize that a policy of war would scarcely be advantageous for America."

One must not forget how carefully differentiated an approach Lenin took to such matters or the great importance that he attached to the evaluation of individual bourgeois politicians and the trends they stood for. In his "*Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, for example, we read:

"The divergences between the Churchills and the Lloyd Georges—with insignificant national differences these political types exist in all countries—on the one hand, and between the Hendersons and the Lloyd-Georges on the other, are quite minor and unimportant from the standpoint of pure, i.e., abstract communism, i.e., communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical, mass political action. But from the standpoint of this practical mass action, these differences are very, very important." (*Selected Works*, FLPH, Engl. ed., Moscow 1947, Vol. 2, p. 628.)

The policy documents of the Moscow Meetings of the Communist

parties confirmed the definition, given by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the main content and main contradiction of our epoch. In its resolution of May 23, 1958, the Second Session of the Eighth All-China Congress of the Communist Party deemed it necessary to especially single out and stress the thesis of the Declaration that at the present time "world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems".

The Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist parties clearly said: "The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system".

On this point again, the Chinese leadership, grossly contravening the joint decisions and the directives of the Congress of the Communist Party of China, have lent themselves now to the unsavoury business of trying to counterpose the national-liberation movement to the world socialist system and the international working-class movement.

The so-called "Fourth Article" published in the newspaper *Jen-min-jih-pao*, and the magazine *Hungchi* (October 22, 1963), is devoted to this. It "proves" that the main contradiction of the present epoch is the one between imperialism and the national-liberation movement, whereas socialism is only a "base", an auxiliary force for this movement. For instance, it is claimed that "the national-liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is presently operating as the most important force, that is directly delivering a blow at imperialism. Asia, Africa and Latin America are those areas where the contradictions present in the world are concentrated".

The effort to drive a wedge between socialism and the international working-class movement, on the one hand, and the national-liberation movement, on the other, is futile and doomed to failure. It is, perhaps, precisely on this point, that the Chinese splitters best show their true colours and expose themselves. Unity of the great movements of our time is the earnest of peace and social progress.

In the same fundamental way, in contravention of the Eighth Congress directives, has the CPC leadership changed its attitude to economic co-operation between the socialist countries, notably and especially, in the appraisal of our assistance to People's China. Making the report of the Central Committee to the Congress, Liu Shao-chi said:

"The Soviet Union lent tremendous assistance to the cause of socialist construction in our country; the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia also rendered great assistance in this respect. The Chinese people will never forget this comradely help of the fraternal countries. This help, as in the past, is help that we need now, and shall need in the future. China's unity and friendship with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which is based on common aims and mutual assistance, are everlasting and

unbreakable. The further strengthening of this unity and friendship is our supreme internationalist duty and the basis of our country's foreign policy".

The Congress resolution underlined that the setting up in China of a new "industrial system is of tremendous importance not only for facilitating the all-round development of the national economy of our country, but also for strengthening the co-operation between the countries of the socialist camp, for promoting a general advance in the economy of all the socialist states".

But this Congress resolution, too, is evidently not obligatory for the Chinese leadership, which has begun to counterpose "reliance on one's own forces" to co-operation with the socialist countries.

Addressing a rally in P'yongyang on September 18, 1963, Liu Shao-chi said the exact opposite of what he had stated previously:

"There are some people today who oppose the promotion by the fraternal countries of a policy of relying mainly on one's own forces in construction. They say that since there exists a socialist camp uniting a number of socialist countries, it is necessary to draw on these splendid conditions and, in conformity with the principle of proletarian internationalism, implement in construction the policy of international division of labor and co-operation in production instead of stressing the principle of relying on one's own forces".

With incredible malice he went on to make deliberately false statements about those who advocate mutual assistance, co-ordination and co-operation. In his opinion, they "are using this pretty screen merely to follow the example of the capitalist countries, which in their mutual relations do detriment to others to grind their own axe, prevent the economically underdeveloped countries from developing their own independent economies, make these countries dependent on them economically, and put them under their control politically. In their view, the other fraternal countries have only the obligation to sacrifice themselves for their disposal and, meanwhile, have no right to develop an independent national economy".

Has there ever been any question, let alone dispute, about the need for each country to rely primarily on its own forces in the building of socialism? Certainly not. Why, then, have the Chinese leaders invented it and presented it as a point of difference? Because they have embarked on a nationalistic road, because the policy of nationalism now prevails in their country, and the raising of this point accords with the aims of this fallacious policy.

To deny the need for co-ordination between the socialist countries, for a division of labor between them, as the Chinese leaders are doing, in violation of the directives of their own Party Congresses, would mean to doom each socialist country to isolation, to leaving it to overcome alone the difficulties encountered in building up socialism, to insufficient use of the advantages of socialist production, and also of the advantages of large-scale production generally.